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Labor Age

The National Monthly

FRAME-UP!

The Attempt to Paint the La Follette Movement "Red"

Peace or Pep?

Making Reading's Victory Count

Porters Smash A Company Union

Those Who Educate the Anthracite

Education Aids
Workingwomen

Kicking the Declaration
of Independence

Moronic MacDonald

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The National Monthly

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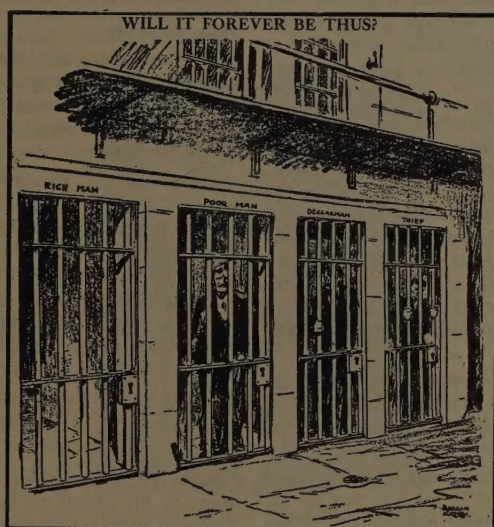
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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Frame Up!

Attacks on Effective Organizers and Decent Statesmen



WHAT sort of condition is that, which allows a leading newspaper—the NEW YORK WORLD—to draw a cartoon such as this, and everybody to know that it speaks the truth?

The state to which Justice has fallen in this country is appalling. It is the Rich Man's Justice and the Poor Man's crucifixion. Our courts in the main stand where they did in the days of the Dred Scott decision—the Servitors of the possessing class.

They have aided to fasten Involuntary Servitude on the workers. Encouraged, the anti-union employers engage in that conspiracy which President William Green of the A. F. of L. has pointed out in the New York I. R. T. conflict. The National Manufacturers Association are in a conspiracy with the big utility interests to make Slavery permanent on the I. R. T.

Beyond that, there is the old game of frame-up. Every honest man will have to face it as a possibility. We see that the Progressive Senators—honest men every one of

them, no matter what we may think of this and that man's opinions—are held up to public ridicule by the unscrupulous William Randolph Hearst, in his Mexican papers. It is pretty well seen that these are all forgeries.

Frame-up will be a constantly increasing weapon used on every effective organizer by the anti-union employers. We wish to begin to bring these methods to light, and start herewith on the tale of the stupid attempt to frame-up Senator Robert M. La Follette, Sr. as a "red" in 1924.

Tha devoted champion of the farmers and workers could not be attacked in that way, directly. So all sorts of indirect ways were used to tack that label on him. This gives one episode which furnishes food for thought. We shall expose more of the crude and venomous tactics of those vicious vermin of human society—the labor spies and private detective agencies. It is time that they are rooted out, completely, in this country. Starting with Burns, let us do away with all of them. It is pleasing to know that legislation to that end is now being introduced in Congress.

Frame Up Artists at Work

How Labor Spies Operate

By ROBERT W. DUNN

LABOR spies by employers and employers' associations, in their war on union labor, may be divided into three major classes. First we have the ordinary detective agency which furnishes men to follow and "spot" the labor organizer. These spies are usually employed in periods of organization stir and during strikes. Then we have the "human engineering" bureau type of enterprise such as the Sherman Corporation, the Corporations Auxiliary, and, more recently, MacDonald Bros., Inc. They sell a slightly different form of service—operatives to the plant under cover, personnel schemes introduced after intensive "cultivation" by these operatives. A third type is the out-and-out provocative, frame-up, strike-breaking organization such as the Eagle Industrial Association headed by the celebrated Max Sherwood.

The functions of all three are overlapping. There are no air-tight divisions. Sherman has been known to do the most gutter and gunman type of strikebreaking. Burns, a "simple" detective agency, has frequently posed as an "industrial harmonizer." While the Eagle people have dabbled a little in the more "constructive" types of operation. Practically all have at one time or another indulged in frame-up, or at least in the rather profitable business of demonstrating—through the use of agents provocateur—that all labor men are essentially Reds and that all Reds are terrorists and bomb-planters.

One of the favorite methods of the profession is to forge a "document" that can be sold to the employer, and submitted to a grand jury that will lead to the indictment of the labor agitator.

The case of Albert Weisbord, the leader of the Passaic strike, was of course a classic one. Here you had an expert forger—an able mixer of chemical ink—producing letters, purporting to show that Weisbord was receiving thousands from Communists in Chicago. One such letter that made the mill owners gape with wonder and admiration was typed on the professional stationery of a well-known and respected Justice of the Peace in Passaic. The letter was supposed to have accompanied and explained the transmission of \$5,000 from Communist headquarters and was signed "Yours for Communism" by the estimable Justice of the Peace of Passaic County! A rubber stamp with the Communist coat of arms completed the job! And the mill owners had swallowed the whole "document," rubber stamp and all, when a New York City reporter pointed out certain inconsistencies.

The "fixed" document and photostate form of frame-up has been used time and again against all wings of the labor movement. Here is how it worked in one instance against the Communists.

An enterprising letter forger, interested in proving to certain interested parties—who promised to pay well for it—that the American Reds were shipping gold to aid their comrades in Hungary as late as 1925, resorted to the following method. He secured a circular "form letter" sent

out by the Daily Worker Publishing Co. advertising some books and pamphlets. With his chemicals he removed the wording leaving only the signature of the literature agent of the company in its place at the bottom of the letter. Above it he simply typed in the following bit of sheer imaginative prose:

Chicago, Ill., December 5, 1922.

D. Hajual,
Secretary Hungarian Bureau,
Workers Party of America.

Dear Comrade:

You are aware of the fact that the time for the Proletarian Revolution is near, and that every dollar contributed by the movement towards the liberation of the Hungarian Working class brings us closer to our ultimate goal—the world Revolution.

Therefore, the Executive Committee has unanimously decided to send additional money to our comrades in Hungary, and you are instructed to forward to Comrades Stuka and Vassa twenty-five hundred dollars. The money to be taken from the funds of the Hungarian Bureau.

You will immediately report this matter to the secretary of the Hungarian Bureau of the Communist International and also inform the comrades in Hungary that more will be forthcoming very soon.

Yours for the world Revolution and the Soviet
Republic of H.

WALT CARMON.

Still cruder forgeries were resorted to by the same agent in his efforts to convince the evidently pin-headed Tories of Hungary that their government was in danger of being undermined from West Washington Street, Chicago. Accompanying these forgeries were beautifully improvised maps showing just where the arms and ammunition—purchased with the \$2,500—were stored in the Hungarian homeland!

All of which sounds too crazy to be believed by anyone not familiar with the ways of the frame-up man who is desperately trying to earn his paltry \$10,000 or \$100,000. Mr. Hearst's latest documents on Mexico, it is now being shown before the Senate Committee, are of equal authenticity.

This much may be said in conclusion: in any situation where the workers are attempting to organize, where strikes are in progress, where the employers are attempting to crush the development of organization—there you may look for the spy, the frame-up "expert" and the forger. They operate against radicals and conservatives alike. Wherever the labor ranks are battling for freedom you will find these "document" merchants selling their goods to the employers. Sometimes their plans fizzle out. Sometimes they succeed for a while in confusing the workers and in misleading public opinion.

How They Tried to Paint the La Follette Movement "Red"

By JACOB NOSOVITSKY

I. THE PLOT

THIS is a true story of how Major Charles E. Russell, former Provost Marshal of the United States Army, hired me in the Presidential campaign of 1924 to try to "get something on" Senator Robert M. La Follette, Progressive candidate for the highest office in the nation.

My own part in the affair came to an unexpected and unpleasant close—for me, at least—when, after nearly getting mobbed in a New Orleans mass meeting, I found myself cold-bloodedly "double-crossed" by Major Russell.

The financial interests and their representatives that employ spies to "get" and "frame" honest, fearless public men, never have the least hesitancy in deceiving, tricking and betraying the detectives and investigators who do their dirty work for them. All this I had to learn by bitter experience. My role in the matter is not a pretty one. I am not discussing that. What I did speaks for itself, but the public will, I think, concede that in exposing the whole astonishing story of intrigue and treachery, I have rendered a service that in a large degree compensates for any injury I did the late brave and incorruptible Senator from Wisconsin. The publication of these facts, as well as the publication some time ago of my confessions of the plot against Mexico, should serve to open the eyes of the American people to the staggering array of falsehoods and frauds that have been perpetrated in recent years by tools of Wall Street.

Some day the public will realize the utter unreliability of much that it reads and hears about political and industrial matters. There are enormous "lie factories" and "forgery mills" in this and other countries which make a business of supplying "evidence" of imaginary "red uprisings," bomb plots, dynamite conspiracies and the like whenever unscrupulous men and corporations have reason for frightening and bamboozling the people. The part played by these scoundrelly concerns in world affairs in late years would be almost unbelievable to the average citizen, yet is as true as the fact that I am writing this narrative.

Major Russell Explains

ON July 25, 1924, Major Charles E. Russell asked me to meet him for a talk regarding a very important matter. I met him and here is what he told me:

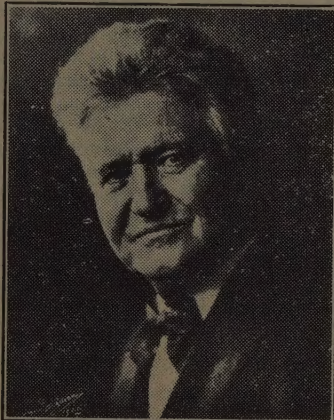
"Through my connections with the National Surety Company, I have come in contact with influential persons in Wall Street who want to start a secret investigation

of Senator La Follette's activities and his relations with the 'red' movement. These Wall Street people will pay big money for 'plausible' facts showing La Follette to be directly in touch with Russian Bolsheviks and enemies of the United States Government. They want to kill off any chance of La Follette seriously interfering with the election of Coolidge."

Russell added that, as an agent who had done valuable work for the Department of Justice, Scotland Yard and many corporations, I was the one man to help him in this "investigation."

The idea of proving that La Follette had anything in common with Communists, or that he was a radical at all, was very amusing to me. I laughed in Russell's face.

"You have got a hard job on your hands, Major," I said. "La Follette is not a radical and never was. His attitude is just about the same as Bryan's in 1896. He doesn't even believe in Government ownership of the big industries. He has consistently opposed even moderate Socialistic projects all his life. As for Communism, he is its sworn enemy. If he is elected, there will be no attack on business. Some mild reforms such as higher taxation for corporations and a few things like that are all that will result. The Socialists are very grouchy about his platform and the only reason they endorsed him was the hope that the progressive movement might some day develop into a third party movement which they could control. They have no use whatever for La Follette's policies, although they are supporting him as a means to



ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, SR.
Devoted Champion of the farmers and workers, against whom all attempts at "frame-up" utterly failed

a far-off end."

I explained how at the Farmer-Labor Party national convention which opened at St. Paul, June, 1924, the plans of certain Communists who were in control of the convention to nominate La Follette were knocked in the head. The Communists at the time had hoped to make use of La Follette's popularity and the magic of his name, and get him at the head of their ticket as well as at the head of the Progressive and Socialist tickets. If the third party should win, they thought that at some distant day they might dominate it, although all that the move would yield them at the time would be to let them into the third party movement. They knew perfectly well that they would not have the least influence with La Follette or anyone close to him. However, this project was completely upset when La Follette repudiated the convention and declared that he would not accept a nomination from it under any circumstances. He pointed out that, although not a Socialist, the acceptance of the Socialist nomination

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was something he could conscientiously do, for that party believed in parliamentary democracy. The Communists repudiate parliamentary democracy, do not expect to win by elections, and frankly look forward to violent social overturn. Senator La Follette, with his deep faith in American institutions and his belief in return to closer adherence to them, could have nothing to do with Communism, and could not think of running on a Communist ticket. In his statement at the time, La Follette said:

"Those who have had charge of the arrangements for this convention have committed a fatal error in making the Communists an integral part of their organization. The Communists believe in the dictatorship by the workers, while I believe in democracy for all."

Not Listening to Reason

I CALLED Russell's attention to the fact that La Follette's rebuff infuriated the Communists, who immediately forced the Farmer-Labor Party convention to nominate Duncan MacDonald of Illinois for President until a permanent selection could be agreed on. Later, at Communist behest, MacDonald withdrew, and made possible the nomination of William Z. Foster, leader of the great steel strike, for the Presidency. Foster conducted a campaign in which he hotly assailed La Follette as "the most reactionary candidate in the field" and "worse than Calvin Coolidge."

"Mild liberals," I explained to the Major, "are more detested by Communists than out-and-out conservatives. They are fiercely opposed to half-way measures. This is so generally known that I cannot see how you expect to gain serious acceptance of charges that La Follette is a radical or semi-Bolshevik."

But the Major would not listen to reason. He insisted that La Follette's repudiation of the Communists and the attacks by the Communists on La Follette were camouflage to fool the American Federation of Labor. "Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor leaders would never back La Follette if he did not do this," said Russell.

Watching Russell's face, I became convinced that he was merely trying to persuade me, and did not personally believe what he was saying. I decided to stop beating around the bush and talk to him straight from the shoulder.

"I take it for granted that you need me in this investigation," I declared, "but you will never get my assistance unless you tell me the truth. You know as well as I do that La Follette has nothing whatever to do with Communism and that there is no camouflage whatever about his position. He has been very candid all along. You would not spend your time if there were not money in it for you. Now be frank with me. What's the game?"

Hesitatingly, Russell admitted that I was right. Personally, he said, he did not care who was elected President. However, he had been asked to conduct this investigation and it looked to him like "easy money." He saw no reason why he should not make a neat sum if he could. He went on to say that he had already agreed to do the work and to produce in a few weeks the results of his preliminary investigation for the sum of \$10,000. If the evidence should be of such a nature as to definitely link up La Follette with the Third International in Moscow, he was to receive \$50,000 more. "The \$10,000 has been paid to me already. There is, of course, nothing

to do but start the investigation and give my client his money's worth. If you will help me, I will make it a 50-50 proposition," said Russell.

At that time I was practically "broke." I had lost \$35,000 in a business deal not long before. I needed money badly. I knew I was playing with dynamite, but I must get money. I wanted to know, first of all, who was behind this scheme, but Russell refused flatly to reveal the name of the influential business man who paid him to probe the Wisconsin Senator. No matter what ruses I resorted to, I could not learn the name of his employer.

At first I refused. I did not want to become involved unless I knew who was "the man higher up." Supposing La Follette should find out about the plot? Supposing some other public man, not necessarily a La Follette supporter but a believer in a square deal, should learn of the affair, and try to make things hot for Russell and myself? I decided to keep out and avoid getting burnt.

Russell was, however, very insistent. "There is no reason why you should not furnish information about La Follette and the political situation in general," he said. "You have a perfect right to do this. Nobody is asking you to make false reports or to act the agent provocateur. Simply find out what you can, make plausible reports, and leave the rest to me."

I saw that Russell was at heart willing to use any kind of proof, genuine or false, that would brand Senator La Follette a "Bolshevik" and thereby entitle Russell to the \$50,000. But after all, I needed money badly, so I finally accepted. . . .

Two days later, I reported at Russell's office in New York City. The Major handed me \$500 for expenses and a typewritten copy of instructions to be followed in the investigation.

The instructions were as follows:

Operation Procedure

1. A complete check-up of subject and his associates is to be made. All affiliations of subject and his associates are to be covered, and the personal history of each secured. All secret meetings as far as possible are to be covered and subjects discussed and plans made are to be secured. All reports shall be submitted daily. All telegraphic communications are to be made under a specially prepared code. This code is to be in the possession of the client, D. R., M. B. R. and C. E. R.

2. Operative N-1 to be assigned at Chicago. All meetings of subject are to be covered by this operative. All general conditions as they pertain to the subject are to be fully covered and anything of interest about the movement is also to be included in the daily report.

3. Operative N-2. This operative will be assigned to the headquarters. He will cover subjects at headquarters and report upon all that takes place pertaining to our case. A close personal contact will be kept, and this operative will make daily reports to the home office.

4. D. R. will cover all points where there may be informants or where information of value to the client may be secured. He will act as the point of contact with the informants and will cover subject's activities as may be necessary.

5. C. E. R. will have general supervision and control of operation. He will be the point of contact between the client and those working on the case. He will attend to

LAST CALL

For the "How to Organize" Conference

BY an interesting coincidence, in the October issue of *LABOR AGE* A. J. Muste urged that some Labor College should hold a conference on Organization Methods, while at the same time a referendum was being sent out to all the Philadelphia local unions with five suggested topics for their next conference. When the result of the vote was made known—three to one in favor of the subject "How to Organize the Unorganized",—Secretary Israel Mufson accepted Brother Muste's "challenge" with alacrity.

If any proof is needed that this question is uppermost in the minds of active workers, this vote supplies it.

Furthermore, word already has reached the Quaker City that delegations are coming from Baltimore, Reading, Boston, and, of course, New York.

And what a program has been arranged! We urge everyone who can possibly be there on Jan. 28 and 29 to write to Brother Mufson at 1626 Arch Street, Philadelphia, for particulars. There is a real treat in store for them.

The conference itself will take place at the Labor Institute, 810 Locust Street.

Here is the program:

Saturday, January 28, 1928, 3.00 P. M. Chairman, Joseph Ritchie, A. F. of L. Representative. Discussion on "The Unorganized Field," led by representatives of local unions.

6:30 P. M. "Organization Dinner," Toastmaster, James Maloney, International President, Glass Bottle Blowers Ass'n. H. H. Broach, International Vice President, Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Dr. Harrison Harley, Prof. of Psychology, Simmons College, and James H. Maurer, Pres. Penna. Federation of Labor.

Sunday, January 29, 1928. 10 A. M. Chairman, Wm. McHugh, Internat'l Vice-President, Printing Pressmen and Assistants Union, Prof. R. G. Tugwell, Prof. of Economics, Columbia University, Author of "American Economic Life," will speak on "Present Economic Factors." Edward L. Rogers, Representative, Typographical Union No. 2, on "Publicity in Organization Work," and Louis F. Budenz, Editor of *Labor Age*, on "New Methods that Will Win." Discussion will follow.

2:30 P. M. Chairman, Adolph Hirschberg, Pres. Central Labor Union, A. J. Muste, Dean, Brookwood Labor College, will speak on "What Makes a Good Organizer." Fannia Cohn, Educational Director, I. L. G. W., on "Meeting the Woman in Industry," and Thomas Kennedy, Sec'y-Treas., United Mine Workers "We Can Organize the Unorganized," followed by discussion.

all financial matters. All expense accounts are to be submitted to him for approval.

6. When C. E. R. is out of the city on this case, then M. B. R. will function as the point of contact. M. B. R. will supply the necessary information. C. E. R. will keep M. B. R. informed of his trips and hotel addresses. M. B. R. will attend to all financial matters when C. E. R. is out of the city.

7. For reasons which are sufficient, it is understood that all contacts shall be made through the person who has been designated. That all reports, expense accounts, etc., shall be made through him, and that unless client shall request otherwise, no one else is to be consulted in this case. The point of contact will make all financial arrangements and other business between the client and the organization.

Russell became rather uncomfortable as he noted the sarcastic smile on my face while I was reading the "Operation Procedure." He hastened to explain that Paragraphs 5 and 7 were inserted in accordance with his client's wishes that he, Russell, should be the only point of contact between the client and the organization which would do the investigating. "C. E. H." meant himself, "M.

B. R." Russell, and "D. R." myself.

"Do not worry about money," said Russell. "When this investigation is over, I will pay you half of what is left of the money paid to me by the client."

My first task was to write a general report on the "La Follette for President movement" to be turned over to the clients.

"You will depart immediately for Cleveland and Detroit," Russell instructed me, "and will communicate with me by telegram as often as possible, writing your telegrams in such a way as to show that you are on the job and digging hard for facts. Operatives N-1 and N-2 are now in Chicago. They will report to you on your arrival in Cleveland."

The whole affair struck me as a huge joke, but so long as I could have my expenses paid and have some money left over, I was willing to play the game. Little did I dream that the comedy was to nearly wind up in a tragedy for me, and that I was to have one of the most disagreeable experiences in my adventurous life.

This interesting narrative will be continued next month, with an account of what happened at Cleveland.

Peace or Pep?

A Brookwood Page That Challenges Us All

By A. J. MUSTE

IF an enemy is in process of taking you by the throat and says that everything between you is lovely and peaceful, and you reply with your sweetest smile that everything is indeed lovely and peaceful, offering no effective resistance because of weakness, or fright, or ignorance as to what is happening, or indifference, or for whatever reason, you will probably not feel very enthusiastic about yourself, and it is a safe bet that your friends will not. To use another illustration, those who have had military experience assure us that it is comparatively easy to maintain discipline and morale in an army while the fighting is going on and there is at least a chance at victory, but that it is much harder to do so when the war is over. All the men think of is getting home. But if it is hard to keep up morale in an army under such conditions, no one but a fool would agree to undertake the effort to keep up morale in an army that was laying down its arms and babbling softly about peace and joy while the other fellows were pressing the attack harder than ever.

From all sorts of quarters and individuals in the labor movement we hear complaints of lack of enthusiasm, morale, spirit, in the movement today. I suggest that one of the big reasons why we have no more pep is that we have too much peace—or to be more exact, too much of the wrong kind of peace, and too much talk of peace where there is no peace.

Human beings are interested in a fight. Watch the items in the newspapers that get the headlines and space, and see how many derive their interest mainly from the fact that they deal with a struggle of some kind. Or recall how the interest in your own union meeting jumps up when a fight is on, or is threatening, about wages or some other issue. Man is an animal trained for tens of thousands of years in fighting. Battle stirs his blood.

Let us inject a word of warning here. What we have just said is not to defend fighting for the sake of fighting or striking for the sake of striking. It is not an argument in favor of war. It is not an argument against conflicts that are perhaps inevitable in lifting society to a higher level, against fighting with saner, less bloody, and futile weapons than men have ordinarily employed.

Nevertheless, man's interest in struggle, his capacity for being aroused by it, having his loyalty stirred by it, is very fundamental in his make-up. We cannot argue or wish it away. Nothing is to be gained by ignoring it. Without going into elaborate theorizing, we venture a couple of suggestions that have direct and practical bearing upon the situation in the movement today.

Big Stick Falls

While we are mainly concerned in this article with the problem of labor's struggle against external forces,

it may be worth while to call attention, for one thing, to an internal factor that has an important bearing on trade union morale. There must be discipline in a union. Still we lay it down as a general proposition that no union will maintain discipline and morale for long if it has no other means for doing it than the big stick. In the long run there must be opposition in any organization, a clash of views, argument back and forth, a measure of freedom, or else there will soon come stagnation, decay, death. Every official is tempted to think that whenever everything is quiet, when no opposition exists or is allowed to stir, all is well. But it is possible to have so much peace that there is no pep.

In the next place, if we are to seek more peaceful and less brutal and wasteful ways of carrying on the work of our unions, if the class conflict is at certain points to be refined, then it will be necessary to dramatize the work and struggle of labor. Otherwise, even in unions that are successful in getting conditions for their members, there will be no interest and enthusiasm on their part. They will expect the benefits the union gives them as a matter of course, and having emotional loyalty for the union, may disrupt it the moment it no longer grinds out steady benefits for them. The Christian churches, for example, have not, at least in recent centuries, attempted to spread Christianity by the sword, but because they have dramatized the missionary enterprise as a struggle with the powers of darkness they have aroused a tremendous amount of enthusiasm for it.

This means, for one thing, as the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. suggests in its report to the recent Los Angeles convention, that unions must do effective publicity. "It is not enough just to get results. It is necessary to show union members what the union has accomplished in order that they may appreciate the need of promoting this major agency. The workers should have the evidence to help them realize they need the union just as much as the union needs them. It is the function of the various trade organizations to give their members information of the achievements of their unions and it is the function of the federated labor movement to give to all interpretations and facts of most significant happenings." A more vivid labor press, a more colorful and persuasive speaking for labor, wider use of the radio and other methods come to mind in this connection.

One union has been known to conduct a perfectly peaceful wage negotiation or a case about working conditions before an arbitration board in such a way that the members knew and cared absolutely nothing about it. Another union will take the same situation and "play it up," dramatize it in such a way that the members follow the proceedings as breathlessly as a championship battle between Dempsey and Tunney.

Song and Our Pioneers

It is significant also that American trade unions do not sing. They used to sing, many of them. Churches sing, fraternal orders, Rotarians, Kiwanis, various radical organizations, but not the trade unions. Why is it? Is it that we lack pep and therefore do not sing, or that we do not sing and therefore lack pep?

Organizations that have morale will usually be found drawing inspiration from the pioneers, the martyrs, the struggles and deeds of the past. There are heroic deeds and heroic men and women in the struggle of American labor in the past. We ought to know them better.

The possibilities of labor dramatics should receive increasing attention in this connection. Experience at Brookwood, among the miners in Illinois, in Philadelphia, has demonstrated that it is perfectly feasible for workers who have no ambition whatever to become stage stars to act in labor plays that give expression of their own emotions and experiences and so are sources of deep joy to the players, and that furthermore stir the souls of those who witness these plays with the message of the battles and the idealism of labor as no amount of speechmaking can. But we must hasten on to our last and most important point.

We alluded at the outset to the man who smiles and talks of peace as his enemy is in the act of taking him by the throat and crushing the life out of him, of the army that lays down its arms and warbles sweet melodies while the other fellows are fighting harder than ever. I contend that this is the position into which the American labor movement is likely to be forced, that we ought to face the facts and "talk turkey" on the subject.

The labor movement has held out the olive branch to the employer. It has offered to cooperate with other factors in industry for more efficient production. It has advocated social peace. What is the outcome?

One Sided Cooperation

All the cooperation has been on one side. In other words, there is no cooperation. Both sides talk peace, but only labor has practiced any. Labor in America has never been subjected to a more thorough, subtle, brutal, dangerous attack than at this very moment. Company unions continue to thrive. The basic industries are unorganized. Injunctions are hurled about with savage glee by judges subservient to their industrial and financial masters. On Armistice Day (Armistice Day, the irony of it) a New York judge, at the behest of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, summoned President Green and the entire membership of the American Federation of Labor to show cause why they should not be enjoined from trying to organize the exploited subway workers in a regular union. Textile workers averaging twelve to fourteen dollars a week are being presented with a 10 per cent cut in wages. Wages generally are tragically (or ridiculously, as you please) low for a country so rich as ours. The orthodox United Mine Workers of America is being fought as harshly in Pennsylvania and Ohio, as the heretical I. W. W. in

Colorado. Hardly a union of any importance that is not under serious attack. So this is Peace.

Nay, worse. It has come to pass that the interests which are, or pretend to be, friendly to the labor movement at one point, are among those who are delivering a dastardly attack against it at other points. What do I mean? President Lewis of the United Mine Workers of America pointed out at the A. F. of L. conference in Pittsburgh recently that certain of the railroads of this country are in a "conspiracy" to crush the United Mine Workers, perhaps the key union in the A. F. of L. What railroads does he mean? The Pennsylvania, New York Central and Baltimore & Ohio.

The Pennsylvania, bitterest of open shop railroads, joins hands with the New York Central, regarded as a friendly road by labor, and with the Baltimore & Ohio, the very road on which the union-management cooperation plan has been in operation.

I am not one of those who have been violently and indiscriminately critical of union-management cooperation, the so-called B. & O. plan. In some of its features it is an inevitable and quite justifiable extension of collective bargaining. But we have urged on the other hand that the plan should not be uncritically hailed as a panacea; that it had dangerous aspects which needed to be watched, that cooperation with technicians to increase production is one thing, cooperation with owners making private profit out of industry a very different thing; that the real test of the plan was whether in the long run it did strengthen the union and bring concrete gains in material goods and in union spirit to the workers.

If now with one hand such a road as the Baltimore & Ohio talks of peace and cooperation with labor, perhaps even gives some slight advantages that men on other roads do not have, but with the other hand joins with the most notorious and bitter anti-union road in the country to deal a death blow to the whole labor movement, are we to continue to speak of enmity and treason such as this as cooperation? Is labor to continue to hail such a state of war as Peace?

Too Much Peace

Challenged and assailed on every side, many of its affiliated unions shaken to their very foundations by the attack of capital, is American labor to continue to talk about a favorable change "in public opinion toward the trade union?" About a "more general and keen appreciation of the business advantage of unionism?" Employers don't seem to be taking advantage very greedily of this "business advantage." About the "conception of the interdependence of all interests?" About a "spirit of partnership in doing the day's work?" Or is our answer to such a challenge to be a new militancy that shall dig in wherever we are attacked by the anti-labor, company-union, open-shop crowd, and that shall take the offensive against capital for the organization of the basic industries? If we want morale, enthusiasm, spirit in the movement we can do no other. There has been too little pep because there has been too much peace—too much of the wrong kind of peace where there is no peace.

Making Reading's Victory Count

Workers Support is Essential

By JOHN W. EDELMAN

WHAT will the election of the Socialist and Trade Unionist Municipal Administration mean to the workers of Reading, Pa.?

If you talk with those who are going to run this Socialist government in Reading you will find that they do not hold out any hope of being able to make a Utopian improvement in this city in the next four years. J. Henry Stump, our new Mayor, and the rest of his colleagues know pretty well what they will be able to do; but what the workers are going to do is something they cannot answer so certainly.

Henry Stump, "Jim" Maurer, George Snyder, Walter Hollinger, Raymond Hofses and George Snyder, Jr., have been studying the situation pretty closely since the day following their sensational election in a huge landslide, which almost buried the old parties. There seems to be no doubt in the minds of these men that they will be able to give Reading much better government than it has had in the past, despite the fact that they will have to rectify the stupid blunderings of former administrations before anything constructive can be attempted. The only matter on which these men have their doubts is whether the organized labor movement and the Socialist workers will really rise to the occasion by using the psychological lever that political success puts in their hands, and so solidify the ranks of all the wage earners in this town that the Socialists will stay in power until real reforms can be accomplished.

Reading will have a real working class government and an efficient one just as long as J. Henry Stump, "Jim" Maurer and George Snyder remain at City Hall. But whether that government will do all that a municipal government, tied down hand and foot by State laws, can do depends on the public support it receives.

Right now the people of Reading as a whole are well disposed towards the new administration. The townsmen are looking to Stump and his administration to lower taxes and effect economies. But Stump and his party for years past have pointed out that the only way to reduce taxes in Reading is to make the manufacturers and the richer folk pay their just share of the taxes. One of the first things the new administration must tackle is the problem of placing a completely new assessment for purposes of taxation on all property within the city boundaries. Some powerful influences in this community, dominated as it is largely by the railroad shops, full fashioned hosiery and a few other such industrial interests, are going to get a rude surprise when this new assessment is put into effect.

Political Bluff

In 1924 the moneyed interests in America won an election by threatening to throw millions of workers out of employment if LaFollette was elected. Their bluff won hands down. And if history means anything at all this is what will happen in Reading on a smaller scale. And what will the workers do then? Will the

local moneyed interests be able to engineer a panic among the big industrial population of Reading, which would result in an outcry against the installation of the assessment that the Socialists were elected to put into effect?

These are the thoughts running through the minds of the men who are closest to the new Socialist City Fathers. At the last meeting this year of the Federated Trades Council of Reading, over which he has presided for the past twelve years, J. Henry Stump made perhaps the most forceful and urgent appeal for trade unionism in Reading that he has ever made. Stump sent out special letters to all the active trade unionists in the city, urging them to be present at this meeting. The response to the appeal was encouraging and there is definitely a new feeling of hope and determination among local unionists in all trades and industries.

A Labor Revival

Plans are being made to organize a new workers' education movement in this city which will lay special emphasis on the technique of organization and means of overcoming old obstacles to uniting the wage earners in this community. As a result of the victory of the Socialists at the polls in November one of the biggest local unions in the city is now affiliating with the Federated Trades Council after holding aloof for many years. The Building Trades Council has been reorganized and will start an active campaign to build up the various locals affiliated with it so as to overcome the effect of the depression felt in this industry ever since the failure of a carpenters' strike last summer.

The Socialists are opening up new district club rooms in various sections of the city and already have started to get ready for the campaign which must be waged in 1928 to capture the two legislative seats in the city, one of which was held by "Jim" Maurer for several terms. There is every likelihood that the workers will also put up a candidate against the present State Senator, whose seat here has hitherto been considered impregnable. If Reading can send to the State Legislature only three men next November who are pledged to fight for those elementary items of progressive legislation which are needed in this so-called commonwealth to bring it on a level with other industrial states, Labor throughout Pennsylvania will take heart again and the fight for better protection for the workers will be given a great impetus.

So far, "Jim" Maurer has been so busy with lecturing and in trying to make arrangements to have his work as President of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor taken care of after he takes office in Reading that he hasn't been home much since the election. But he has some interesting and novel ideas as to how a workers' city government should be conducted and can be depended upon to keep the Socialist administration here in the public eye right along. Maurer meanwhile is

Labor Heroics by Labor's Enemies



THE VALIANT FIREMAN

WILLIAM JAMES paused in the writing of his philosophy to comment on the heroism of the workers at their daily jobs. Evidently the enemies of the workers have caught the same spirit. Now, it has come to pass that the Pennsylvania Railroad—Heaven forbid!—is waxing maudlin over the virtues of its working force.

The latest installment was the fireman, a large picture of whom as per the above, appeared in the SATURDAY EVENING POST—in a P. R. R. ad. Much was told of his many goodnesses. The safety and speed of the road depended on him, etc., etc.

It is a rare tribute. But let us pause and ask: How much reward would the valiant fireman be securing if he were allowed to go it alone, at the tender mercies of the P. R. R.? NOT MUCH!

The shopmen know that—and the maintenance of the way men and the clerks. Mock heroics for advertising purposes don't go. The Pennsylvania cannot hide its record of oppression by such soft speech. We hope in time to see another true-blue union drive on that road that will make Atterbury shudder.

looking for his successor as President of the State Federation of Labor, from which office he will resign in May. Stump is hunting a man to head the central body in Reading, which he has run for almost as many years as Maurer has headed the State body. In addition to this, Stump is breaking in his successor as business manager of the Reading Labor Advocate, the official organ of the local trade union and Socialist movements and one of the few weekly labor papers in the country which have been successfully conducted in all respects.

George W. Snyder is a past president of the Musicians' Union in this city and has permanently headed its scale committee. Snyder will be head of the Department of Parks and will head the Water Bureau, which is now undertaking big improvements. Maurer will head the Finance Department at City Hall.

Counted Out?

Walter Hollinger, a member of the Cigar Makers' Union, will be City Controller. It was thought that the Socialists had also elected their man to the City Treasurership but in a recount which lasted over three weeks and brought to light a most amazing series of errors in the method of counting the ballots, Hoverter, the Socialist, barely lost out. The workers of the city are highly incensed at this whole affair but it is impossible to correct a condition of this sort until the workers are powerful enough to get control of the county

offices as well as the city offices and conduct elections with a different set of officials.

The Pennsylvania Dutch are a people never completely melted by the great American melting pot. They have retained a definite individuality of their own since they landed in this country almost two centuries ago. In other places there would be much jubilation over a victory as striking as that of the workers of Reading—a solidly Pennsylvania Dutch community. There was only one real outburst of feeling here—that on the night of the election. Right afterwards everybody seemed to get right to business again. Does it mean that the workers expect the few men who take public office to right civic wrongs unaided or does it mean that the workers realize that more than ever before Reading needs a powerful, closely knit and vigorous labor movement, active on both the economic and political fields? I believe that the mass of the workers in Reading understand that it is only a glorious first step that has been made and that a hard job ahead awaits them if the full fruits of the victory are to be harvested. No local labor movement in America has been more ably and honestly led than the labor movement in Reading. It cannot mean that because these leaders take office in City Hall that their influence over the rank and file will be any the less. I look for big things in Reading—but not too soon.

Those Who Educate the Anthracite

Timid Teachers Who Almost Rebelled

By EDWARD FALKOWSKI

I. "WHO IS THIS MAN?"

THERE are more than 200 school teachers in the immediate region of Shenandoah in whose hands the future generations of hard coal diggers are being trusted. Formidable people emerging from middle class homes to whom the sweat of a miner's sooty skin is loathsome are engaged in the mass production of American education. Children are so many "heads" to them. The tiny enigmas that grow inside those "heads" are permitted to harden into complexes whose result can be seen in the tough-fibred politician, the frowning pool-room fixture, the slick-haired insurance Valentino, the Charleston cobra and other patterned type that pass on the endless belt of people that live out their destinies in the cracked and pitted undermined country of culm piles and breakers and harsh metallic whistles.

Few of these 200 teachers have ever dared to enter a mine. These miners, hundreds of strange, smeared men, whose leather-peaked caps carry battered lamps on them, pass by their homes through the morning fogs in answer to the summons of the colliery whistles. But these teachers never see the world at that hour—never see the miner pounding the pavement and spitting "black marbles" on his way. But when half-past three comes, and the chorus of whistles shouts quitting time, the streets are filled with these black-smoked creatures, many of them dripping wet, stamping the slush off their boots as they walk, and dropping into various saloons for their evening beer.

This dark army of silent men are the anthracite. Their sore backs, swollen hands, blue-marked faces, in which sharp lump etched tales of narrow escapes—often their snail-pace, a mere shuffle with plenty of sit-downs in between—tell something which commission reports and state statistics hardly convey in their interminable legends of figures and technical data, useful only to the expert. But these items of anthracite bureaus that sit on door steps of strange houses to catch their failing breath tell more of hard coal than piles of intricate data, whose deviations tempt students to master the problems which the industry confronts.

Yet to teachers these ragged men are a curious breed whom they cannot understand. Sentiment sprays its tears over them, and strike-periods enlist pedagogical sympathy to the struggling side. But, as these tremendously educated people strut down the streets after the day's work they never cease to wonder at the miner walking calmly up the street—"Who is this man?"

II. LOWER AND UPPER CRUST

In his home town the miner is the lowest strata of local society. School teachers look with discreet disfavor upon the children of this mucker who must shed his few pints of sweat while he waits for his sons to grow big

enough to help him in his struggle for existence. The children of the lumber meechant, the grocer, the saloon keeper, the undertaker, the politician catch warm smiles and intimate attentions. For they are of the upper crust, and will carry on the important work of the universe when they emerge from the educative process.

Mining is labelled as a low class of work—degrading, low-paid, dangerous. American history points out vividly how ability percolates upward and reaches its place in the sun here where experts poke long telescopes to the horizon, waiting for genius to show itself. Stories of millionaire grocers, cabin boys who stepped calmly into the immortality of the presidential chair are told over and over again, until the miner's son regards his sweated father with secret horror, and his daughter aspires to play the piano and take up fancy needle work.

The miner becomes a hopelessly unambitious toiler, blind to the invitation of gilded opportunities. He is a failure in this world where all good things meet with accurate rewards. Business people embody the very spirit of growth and are the spine on whose frame the structure of this national organism depends. The miner drinks. He smokes. He stays out late at nights, and is seen wasting his time playing cards. He never comes to night school. He doesn't buy lyceum tickets, and fails to attend high school interpretations of stage classics. He yawns in church, and misses days after payday from work. Can one wonder why they will never become foremen, superintendents, stock holders? Not in their path does success lie.

III. MYSTERIOUS UNDERWORLD

Most of the big things in a mining region take place beneath the surface. The smug quiet that surrounds the finer trees, as well as the rattle of Main Street, have only a secondary connection with the life of the miner. Yet the teachers who never touch the elemental things—never walked through miles of darkness so thick one could cut it with a knife—never felt raw drips of water sneaking behind their collars—never dodged the loosened lump as it crashes from above, nor felt the deadening pressure of gas-filled holes, nor ducked the mule's lifted hoofs—walk through the sunlit slices of earth with their mental trouser belt tightened, their lust for knowledge oozing with smeary phrases borrowed from a thousand authorities.

The underworld is a mystery that fails to arouse energetic curiosity. Eager wonder faints away to a timid shudder as these bloodless creatures consider the hazards of that world whose terrors leap into printed notice which casually tell a bored world that this and this person met his fate today as a rock crushed him to a pulp. Miners read this with a shrug, and turn to the sports. Teachers grin and seek out football scores.

No one is interested in the fate of the humble toiler who walked that very morning in response to the whistles—perhaps whistling himself—full of health and eagerness for work—who now lies in the front room of his panicky family home, a shattered mess of corpse, whose chill *facio* still asks the question it has always asked—“Why?”

IV. THE EMPTY TEACHER

Where being anything other than a mine worker lifts one instantly to higher planes of consideration, the school teacher becomes a being of a higher order and acquires the superior pose. That he himself is pressed down to a mechanical routine, and lacks the rounding out of mature contacts as well as direct experiences of life does not occur to him in its naked significance. He can repeat what he learns which is to him the essence of the teaching process.

He reads Mencken and Cabell—the wicked chorus girls of contemporary letters—and his nose tilts sniffily in disregard of industrial issues. Strikes and tumults of capital and labor are faraway echoes to him, which he regards from the aloofness of historic background. He has no definite opinions, since the cult of Questioners emphasized the cultural importance of losing ourselves in a wilderness of Whys and Wherefores—a road which hardly leads to any Therefores, in the estimation of our learned cousins.

The miners' union he looks at impersonally—although his own background may have been the humble uprearing of a miner's son. His interests are above those of labor and unionism. He is a professional worker, and although at a low salary the white collar and the reputation that attends it balances the merely pocket shortcoming.

He is afraid to become a person. A school teacher is a nebulous possibility that never materializes into a full personality. One can almost pass one's hands through the body, so vaporous and empty is he. He acquires the shape of any vessel he is blown into, and scatters the mist of his insight over the pebbles of small heads before him. Their absorption is the measure of their intelligence. If they are lacking in gray matter, their opposite poles must be appealed to in hope of loosening the brain cells to a proper temperature of receptivity.

V. SUNDAY MANNERS

Yet history secretly records a time when the idea of organization was whispered among them. Low wages, discrimination, political pressures stirred them to protest. Miners' officials got on the job, hoping to band the teachers into a labor organization. Dim notices of these conspiracies reached the hairy ears of the creaky superintendent, whose religious fires spurted high, and intense indignations poured forth from his office.

The timid teachers wore guilty faces as they felt their economic security slide from under them. The school board roared bulls of protest amid the pounding of the gavel and the wringing of hard fists. The inspirers of youth shook in their patent leather shoes and their hair became disordered as they got wind of this hot fury. They preferred safety first, and dreams of organi-

zation quietly faded into the family closets with other dread mementos.

They learned the awful lesson of patriotic duty—devotion to the state, responsibility to the future—and these intellectual boy scouts shivered and their stamina poured out of them like sand out of a torn bag. Since then they have been empty sacks, kicked about left and right by a political school board. Each incoming administration alarms them; they must patronize bosses and live inconspicuous and quiet lives. Their “nice” homes wear the heavy frown of respectability. Their “cozy” furniture is the very perfection of stuffiness. Their Sunday manners have entombed their budding personalities and their lives fade away into endless routine amid ringing of school bells and marking of papers. One sighs to think that beneath this mountain of regimented activity may smolder one whose destiny might have been sharper, clearer cut—whether a cry of agony out of the dark, or a leap of joy springing out of utter happiness of self-realization. But these are only dreams!

VI. TERRIBLE SECRETS

School teachers are no less enigmas to the grim miner, who regards them with a shade of silent contempt. Between them are thin walls of so-called intellect. But the miner has the naked feel of the earth in him. His instincts are fully alive, and he has roots. The pallid teacher is a thin, colorless creature, whose creative wonder is worn away amid the drudgery of every-day discipline and intellectual cowardice. He is a “squib” that sputters out in a fizz that never amounts to more than a squirm and a choking gasp.

But why should it be thus? The teacher must be the mediator between inexperienced youth and the tangled and deep emotions of life. He must introduce curious youth to the profound joy and malice of the universe. It is his task to inspire youth, to seek out the creative spark, the human note, the blind struggling spirit that is seeking roots. This is a task for spiritual heroism, and not mental sneaks who squirm in perpetual degradation, dreading the wet and the cold and the stink that surround a real existence! Give us beauty, give us light—but give us guts and the nausea and rot from which the finer things must spring! Even the most beautiful flowers have their roots in manured mud! We want not mere beauty, but vital beauty! Not mere truth, but living truth. Not only words, but dynamic words.

In the very heart of the anthracite—and of all industries as well—the teacher is one who knows least of life. The patterns of the surface engage them in a gossip of commonplaces. But the so-called artist, living all his life here, has never felt the blinding darkness of a gangway. The business man never felt dooley smoke. The boosters don't know how it feels to ride down a shaft every morning. Priests know a mine only when they see the outside of it. Newspaper men prefer words to facts. Only the miner knows what the mines are like. His heart burns with their terrible secrets, and the long silences of endless tunnels he carries in his breast.

“Wise” people look at the stern face of the miner and wonder. The miner wonders too—but he doesn't show it.

Education Aids Workingwomen

To Understand Their Status in Industry

By FANNIA M. COHN

THE possible contribution of workers' education to the solution of the problems of workingwomen is being earnestly discussed today. Not only workers, but those individuals interested in the woman question as a whole are asking: what can workers' education do for workingwomen that cannot be done by general adult education?

Such questions arise because we forget that the woman question, however general in importance, has specific aspects. Women are no different from men; they have group problems which cannot be solved, certainly on a sex basis. The workingwoman has her own group problems to solve, which are complicated by the fact, that, though women have gained equal political rights on the whole, they are still confronted by a woman question. They face a woman question in the labor movement, because, although as a progressive social force trade unions came into being as a means of eradicating the injustices which workers—men and women—meet at the hands of their employers, they are none the less not immune from the shortcomings of other social institutions. They are led by men who, naturally enough, have the same attitude towards women as men in every other walk of life.

The question which arises is who will solve these problems. Some good people think they can be solved by protective legislation for women. I do not by any means intend to disparage protective legislation for women. On the contrary, I hope that such legislation will at no far distant date be extended to workingmen, for when workers gain protective legislation through their organizations, the laws will be enforced through the strength of the trade unions better than they are enforced at present in the case of women in unorganized industries, and will be of real benefit to all the workers. I do feel, however, that protective legislation is not the whole of the answer.

Equalization?

Other people, in particular the National Woman's Party, think the millenium for workingwomen will be brought about by a complete equalization of the laws affecting men and women. These good women who sponsor most advanced and desirable ideas, ideas to which all women could very well subscribe, fail to realize that they are invading a field entirely foreign to them. These sisters of ours do not seem to understand that workingwomen have problems of their own which cannot be solved by sex action, that the only assistance these groups of women outside industry can give is by supporting the efforts of the workers.

What workingwomen need most is to awake to realization of their potential power in an industrial age. This is especially necessary when we consider that for

centuries women as a group have been continually oppressed with their unimportance in social, economic and political activities. This was true despite the fact that here and there individual women became historic figures through their personal achievements. In such cases, the women were spoken of as being sports, possessors of masculine minds. Naturally, women developed a decided feeling of inferiority which has not yet left them. They have carried it into the factory and are still under its influence, despite the fact that industries worth hundreds of millions of dollars depend upon their labor.

Power Consciousness

In the removal of this inferiority feeling and the creation in its place of a consciousness of power, workers' education can do much. When the labor colleges and universities include the question of woman's position in industry, her contribution to our industrial life and her compensation therefor, the result must be to arouse an interest in the organization of workingwomen. For the discrepancy between the compensation of women and that of men would be plainly revealed, and fear would probably be aroused in the minds of the men that such discrepancies, if long continued, would threaten their own hard won improved conditions.

Inevitably the possibility of organizing women will be discussed in these classes. In deciding whether women are really organizable, nothing will be more helpful than an objective study of this important and complicated question—a study to throw light on the situation, which cannot be improved until it is perfectly understood. Interest once aroused, however, it seems natural to believe that the problem of the workingwoman will be discussed in labor councils, at local meetings, Executive Board meetings and conventions. And the recognition of the importance of this problem will carry it further along the road to solution.

But workers' education can be helpful to workingwomen not only by changing the attitude of workingmen to the benefit of both sexes. The women, too, will be much helped in solving their problems if they begin to study themselves. Women are the subject of much discussion in current periodicals, the daily press, books, etc., but what discussion there is, is carried along specific lines by the particular group of women involved. Thus, professional women discuss the problems of the professional, women in business those of the businesswoman, women in science and art the difficulties confronting the scientist and artist, housewives the problems of the woman in the home.

But small attention has been given, however, to the woman in industry and such as has resulted in exaggerated points of view. Workingwomen have been

pictured, on the one hand, as angels, enslaved by men in a man made world; able to advance easily if the masters of the world, men, would let them. They have been presented, on the other hand, with all the traits imaginable of the weaker sex, physically and mentally different from, if not inferior to men. Therefore, since it is impossible to overrule the creator, why spend so much time and money in what must be a futile attempt to organize women. In any event, such an attempt would be unwise since women's place is not and should not be in industry, or at least, should not be there permanently. Both these points of view are obviously, though unintentionally exaggerated

Studying the Question

It is the function of workers' education to find precisely what the problem of the workingwoman is, since understanding of a problem is an indispensable preliminary to its solution. The immediate need is for studies of the problem—the number of women gainfully employed in industry, their age, the length of their stay, the conditions under which they work—their wages, hours, etc.—the industries in which they are employed, the proportion of them organized into trade unions, their status there, their attitude towards union activities, and last, but not least, their character. For, although there has been so much loose talk about the position of women in industry, and the necessity of organizing them, very few of the talkers have gone to the extent of making carefully documented and comprehensive studies or acquainting themselves with the problems before writing about them. Miss Edith Abbott's "Women in Industry" and Miss Alice Henry's "Women and the Labor Movement," the two standard works up to now both dealt with the problem historically and both are out of date. The recent study by Miss Theresa Wolfson, "The Woman Worker and the Trade Unions" is the most comprehensive one that has appeared on the subject. It should encourage further work along similar lines. Miss Wolfson's book we may justly claim as a result of workers' education, for she has been engaged in it for a number of years as instructor and was probably inspired by it in the writing. It seems, however, that the labor movement itself will have to make the necessary studies and the workers' education movement will have to assume that function in its classes and in public.

With the advent of workers' education in its present form in this country, the woman problem is gradually gaining its deservedly important position. It is encouraging to notice it taking its place in the discussions of trade union problems and policies, in workers' classes. From the classes, it is being extended and more careful discussions are being carried on in shops, union meetings and labor periodicals.

There can be no other result of all this interest than an increased consciousness of their importance in our modern industrial world on the part of workingwomen. There is no reason why they should be any less aware of the significant change in woman's status since the beginning of the century than the professional women, why they should take themselves any less seriously than other

IN NEED



One of the NEW YORK TIMES "neediest cases." Why not an old age pension for her—not charity?

women, why they should fail to appreciate the contribution they could make to the labor movement and ultimately to society if they were organized into trade unions.

Those women who are already organized will probably be brought to a greater interest in their sisters outside the unions by their study of the history of the labor movement, as it is being carried on in workers' classes, and they will probably add their efforts to the great task of bringing unorganized women into the labor movement.

Nor should we overlook the importance of working men and women studying side by side in workers' classes, as they do in all labor colleges. The better understanding that will grow up as a result is not to be overestimated in value. The discussions in the classroom and in the resident colleges, the summer institutes and schools, and even in the forums and chatauquas have given promise that our brothers will learn that the working woman appreciates the problems with which our labor movement is faced and that she frequently has valuable suggestions to make for their solution. At the same time, these discussions are more and more inspiring to workingwomen, convincing them that they should get more deeply into the work of the labor movement, that they should accept responsibilities on the Executive Boards of their unions. As a result, men will have a continually growing confidence in women's ability to take a leading part in the labor movement, and women will be more eager to assume those responsibilities.

Issues of the Day and Age

In the Eyes of the Old World Press



Daily Express, London, Eng.



John Bull (London)



L'Humanite, Paris

Disarmament has bothered Europe, as indeed it may. Never was such a thing more needed. Never was it farther away. The League of Nations has proved to be helpless. The attempt at Geneva has just been one more failure. There can be no hope for Peace as long as time-serving statesmen rule the destinies of the world. Never was it more necessary that the workers speak up than now. In time of Peace prepare for War—by killing

it off. The workers need much more unanimity of action before they can do that vital thing.

"Who caused the War?" is still the subject of heated discussion among the diplomats. L'HUMANITE of Paris sarcastically remarks, as per the cartoon, that soon they will be blaming the war veterans themselves for it. "Who caused the Great War?" is a much less important question right now, may we say, than: "Who will stop the Next War?" It is up to us to furnish the answer.

Porters Smash A Company Union

Show Down Approaches

By FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

ANOTHER year has ended and the two-year-old Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters still stands defiantly ignoring the dire prediction of its foes, and gradually but surely realizing the hopes of its friends. When the Pullman porters launched their never-to-be-forgotten crusade against the "Company Union" of the Pullman Company many cynics of both races, saw in the attempt "a foolish gamble," "a waste of time and money;" "just another hopeless effort on the part of the American Negro to enter the field of trade union organization;" "the Pullman Company is too powerful a foe."

In spite of these voices of skepticism and defeatism ringing in our ears we solemnly resolved that no matter what the cost might be in blood or money we would not become discouraged and surrender, but would fight on in such a fashion as to convince even these skeptics that what other races had done any race could do, and that the Negro worker had a worthwhile contribution to make toward the cause of Labor's emancipation. Encouraged by the sympathy and support of our numerous friends we have made good; more than that, we have surpassed the rosiest hopes entertained for us by our supporters.

A Necessary Technique

Organized labor can be proud of the fact that at least one of the most powerful Company Unions in the United States has practically been destroyed. In bringing about this result the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters has set a new pace and introduced a new technique in the field of trade union organization. Thirteen months after the bugle call of organization was sounded, a majority of the porters and maids in the employ of the Pullman Company was enrolled in the Brotherhood, to the amazement of all concerned; this feat was accomplished by methods closely akin to the underground railroad of slavery fame. The members of the organization could not be permitted to publicly declare themselves as belonging to the Brotherhood; for, the Company would penalize them, as it actually did to a number whose identity was disclosed because of their own inability to hide the fact and be silent.

Some of the most trusted men in the Pullman service are affiliated with the Brotherhood while continuing to enjoy the confidence and good graces of Pullman officials. The remarkable agility and ease with which these Brotherhood men can adjust themselves and hoodwink a Pullman official is traceable to the fact that conditions during slavery compelled the Negro to resort to this ordinarily despicable practice of duplicity in order to escape some of the hardships that were inevitable parts of the institution of Chattel slavery. The Negro learned his lesson well and the Pullman porter has forgotten none of it. Recently the Pullman Company gave a ban-

quet to a carefully selected group of "trusted and faithful porters." At this banquet resolutions were adopted attacking the Brotherhood and repudiating the efforts of the organization to abolish tipping as the method by which porters are rewarded for their labor. Those who selected these men thought surely they had chosen a group antagonistic to the union; nevertheless, of the forty or more who attended, eleven were members in good standing of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; and twenty-five minutes after the banquet was over the officials of the Brotherhood had a complete report of what happened, and affidavits were later sworn to by these porters repudiating what they had done at the banquet. This example is typical of a nation wide condition, of which it is safe to say that the Pullman Company cannot call together three Pullman porters in any of its districts without including one or more members of the union. In the recent elections held by the Company under the so-called Employee Representation Plan, members of the union were in several instances functioning on the election Committee so-called.

Song Birds of Cowardice

When the movement to organize the porters was launched, a chorus of Negro voices especially was raised everywhere advising the porters not to organize; "to let well enough alone," that "the Pullman Company was the Negroes' best friend," since it employed more Negroes than any other corporation in the United States, and, that to organize would be an indication of ingratitude. Some of these song-birds of cowardice and defeatism pretended to be a little more intelligent than the others and found what they called "real reasons" why the porters should not organize. "If the porters organized, the Company would retaliate by discharging all its Negro porters and replacing them with white ones," they harmonized.

If the Pullman Company did replace its Negro porters with white ones, it is safe to say that within a comparatively short period of time these white porters would get together and present the Company with a formidable trade union organization, and since the Company is interested primarily *not* in the color of those whom it exploits, but in the willingness and extent of its workers to be exploited it can readily be seen that the Company's best self-interest is the most eloquent and persuasive argument against this alleged "real reason."

Notwithstanding the many efforts to persuade the porters against organization, the men continued to enroll in the Brotherhood to such an extent that shortly after the first call to organization was issued by A. Philip Randolph, the movement took on the aspect of a genuine crusade; a majority of the porters and maids were enrolled in the organization, and the Brotherhood was thereby duly qualified to present the porters' grievances before the United States Board of Mediation. After an exten-

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sive and complete investigation, the Board recommended arbitration, which the Pullman Company unblushingly declined, but which was accepted by the Brotherhood. This recommendation of the Board was a signal victory, in that it carried with it recognition of the Brotherhood as the legitimate representative of the porters and maids, and by the same token gave to it the same status as enjoyed by the other railroad labor organizations.

Under the law governing disputes between transportation workers and their employers (the Watson-Parker Law), the next step of the Brotherhood is to create an emergency which will warrant the appointment of "an Emergency Board" by the President of the United States. Plans for this phase of the porters' struggle are now being meticulously laid.

In conjunction with, but independent of this action, the Brotherhood petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission for an investigation of the finances of the Pullman Company, as they relate to the wages of the porters, to tips and the traveling public. The Pullman Company in answer to this petition, outrightly challenged the right of the I. C. C. to entertain the porters' petition on the ground that the questions involved were without the jurisdiction of the I. C. C. The Commission, however, over-ruled the contention of the Company and has set a date (January 11, 1928 at Washington, D. C.) when the attorneys of the Pullman Company and the Brotherhood will appear before it and argue first, the question of jurisdiction then the subject matter of the porters' petition.

Tips

It is the contention of the Brotherhood that since Pullman porters are required by the Pullman Company to depend upon tips in order to bring their income within a reasonable distance of what is considered a living wage, and since tips are uncertain, voluntary and inadequate, this custom tends to inculcate and foster discrimination in the kind and degree of service the porters render the traveling public. For instance, two travellers starting from the same point to a common destination must pay the same price for their Pullman tickets and are, therefore, equally entitled to *all* the services the Pullman Company is capable of rendering through its representative, the Pullman porter. Said porter knows the two travellers, having had them in his car on previous occasions. He knows that "A" will give him 25 cents when the trip is completed, and that "B" will give him only 10 cents. Fore-armed with this knowledge, the porter will without a doubt give to "A" better and more service than he gives to "B," although they are both entitled to equal service and equal treatment. To expect otherwise from the porter, is to indicate a complete lack of understanding of human nature.

A second contention of the Brotherhood is that the Pullman porter is more than a servant of the Pullman Company. He is a public servant, health officer, policeman, etc. And since he must depend upon tips in lieu of wages, he is made an easy victim to bribery from passengers violating or desirous of violating any of the laws which the porter is supposed to uphold.

The wage of a Pullman porter is \$72.50 per month;

his hours are approximately 400, calculated upon an 11,000 mileage basis. He has practically no opportunities for advancement. "Once a porter always one," sums up the destiny of a pullman porter, except those who are selected by the management to serve under the high-sounding title of welfare worker or instructor, but whose title has but little, if anything, to do with the job assigned them. They are chosen among the porters for the same purpose and in the same manner that the master used to select certain slaves from among the gang. He would give them a smile now and then, an old coat once in a while, and, on the whole, a trifle more inconsequential consideration, and in return the "chosen few" snooped, spied and lied to the master about their fellow-slaves.

The demands of the Brotherhood include a 240 hour work month, the abolition of tips as reward for the porter's work and the substitution of \$150 per month therefor.

In their struggle to effect organization, the Pullman porters not alone essayed to lock horns with one of the most powerful aggregations of capital in the United States, but also threw down the gauntlet to a well entrenched "company union," euphemistically called "The Employee Representation Plan," under which the porters have been working and chafing for over five years. It is safe to state that the successful struggle waged against the Pullman "Company Union," is the first instance in the history of the American Labor Movement when such a mighty one of these obnoxious products of "a war to make the world safe for democracy" has been completely overcome and wrecked.

Boycotting A Newspaper

One of the most startling achievements of the Brotherhood, however, is not generally known, yet is of singular significance both to the Negro and organized labor. Among the voices of opposition to the Brotherhood was that of the Chicago Defender, by far the largest and among the most influential Negro newspapers in the world with a circulation of about a quarter of a million copies per week. Early in the struggle the porters recognized it as the mouthpiece of the Pullman Company and their most formidable opponent. Copies of the paper were from time to time given to the porters by the Company. To overcome The Defender, was one of the problems confronting the organizers of the Brotherhood. However, the men themselves, uninstructed, organized a boycott of the paper which became so effective and successful that its circulation steadily dropped until it reached an alarmingly low figure.

Negroes other than Pullman porters also joined in the unofficial boycott and the paper, once the journalistic pride of the race, became the most despised. About a year ago, the Chicago Defender saw the error of its ways and came out boldly and unreservedly championing the cause of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. This is probably the first time that the Negro has engaged in a boycott and his remarkable success indicative of the potential power of the race along this line, and which may yet be most effectively used to right some of the many wrongs inflicted upon him, particularly in the Southland.

Send Organizers!

Concluding Sketches of Submerged South

—BY DOROTHY P. GARY

“COME in, come in, Miz Jones,” Marg called to a little old woman, gnarled like a mountain oak, who has hobbling up the walk. “You wan’ some of my herbs, honey? Jes’ help yersef. You know where they is. Brew ‘em a little ‘n app’y th’ warm juice to his rumitiz. It’ll help. You might tie a string around his waist and middle left finger.”

“Honey,” she turned back to me, “I tell you what I got on my mind. I’s my boy Tom. He wan’s to be an electrician in th’ worse way. Ever since he wuz a little boy he’s hankered after machinery ‘n things like that. He’s buyed books ‘n fixings of all kinds. Well h’s sis ‘n I ‘n him’s been savin’ for seven years now so’s he cud take th’ course. By correspondence they calls it. It cost \$150, but seeing as Tom wuz so anxious they tole him he cud tek it fer \$95. But we jes’ can’t seem to git that much ahead.”

“Couldn’t he take it up around here—at school, say?”

“Naw. They doan learn ‘em no trade thar but mill work. I tell you, honey, these mill owners wan’s to keep us in th’ mills. *I knows.* I’ve watched ‘em forty-five years now. My gal tells me I shud keep my mouth shut. But *I knows.*”

Marg peered through the green vines at another visitor coming up the walk.

“That you, Miz Rhoads?”

“Yes’m, it’s me. Kin I hev’n ear o’corn?”

“Help yersef. Only git ‘em ripe. ‘N woan ye set a spell?” Marg lowered her voice again. “We live in common like, us six families here.” With her right thumb she indicated the houses fronting the little square of dirt before us. “Each one got a little patch. Wages bein’ what they is—we cudn git along without. One raises beans’n peas, somebody else, yellers’n tatters. ‘Nn me, I raise corn. Whin meal time comes, we jes go ‘n help oursefs.”

“Now, th’ drought ‘n hot weather is killin’ our crops, ‘n th’ mill only runnin’ part time. I tell you they’re gettin’ us lower’n lower. They wan us on our knees, that’s what. We aint low enuf fer ‘em yit. Millionaires they are, Mr. Roe ‘n th’ res’.”

“They made their money out of us. I look at their fine houses whin I go into town ‘n I tinks to mysef, you made that out o’us. If we want so poor, you’d not be so rich! ‘N I rememba what th’ Bible says about th’ rich ‘n th’ poor. *But theyll git theirs when they die.*”

“Hell?” I asked.

Marg spit a brown stream neatly between the rails.

“What else?” she answered.

Katy

On Monday after working hours I went over to see Katy. Katy had come over from Brandon to stay with her married sister and mind her kids while her sis worked in the mill. Katy’s baby was still too little and sickly for her to go back into the mill yet. Her sister’s youngest child was six months, and her oldest nine years, with a chain of five between. This system of working between babies and minding the neighbors’ hot before and after your new one

came so they can work awhile—is well worked out. Now since no child under 14 years is allowed to work in the mills without special permit, there is another system. The oldest kid, below working age, whether eight, nine or twelve takes its Ma’s place in the kitchen and minding the string of little ‘uns and Ma goes into the mill. There is a compulsory school law for those under fourteen, but no one pays any attention to that.

Katy’s brother and sister lived on the edge of the village where the poorest cottages stood. No trees or flowers here. Only yellow dirt, flies and sizzling heat. Around their shack ran a high chicken wire fence, and the gate was locked. Inside stood Katy, minding twelve half-naked and squalling children.

Katy herself was as small and undeveloped in body as a little girl of ten, so that when you saw her face for the first time it came like a shock to you that she was a grown woman. The more you looked at her, the more puzzled you become. She looked ten and she looked fifty. With her skinny arms and legs and wistful eyes, she was a child. But her pallor, and the drawn look around her mouth rightfully belonged to old people.

There are many in the villages like Katy. I grew to call them to mysef, “The little old ones.”

“The thing’s that’s wrong with me,” Katy explained one day after one of her coughing spells, “is I went to work whin I wuz too little. Th’ mill stunted my growth. I wuz eight years when Pa took a stroke, ‘n there wuz five of us kids ‘n me th’ oldest. I wuz only in school two weeks, when I had to quit ‘n go to work in th’ mill. All we had wuz what I could earn, less’n two dollars. I cried, ‘n Ma ‘n Pa cried, ‘n all th’ little uns cried, but what wuz thar to do? It won’t the work so much, tho there wuz no limit on hours then ‘n th’ lint ‘n dampness was somethin’ awful. But it wuz, I wanted larnin’ something’ th’ worse way in th’ world.”

“But how *could* you live on two dollars a week?” I asked.

“We had to. By doing without. In two year my brother come into th’ mill too, so thin it wuz easier. But I never got back to school.”

“But you can read.”

“Sure, I larned mysef how. But I doan know how to write. Looks like somethin’ wrong, doan it, whin kids wana larn, ‘n doan git the chance.”

“There wuz a man through here last winter ‘n he tole us in secret about a country Rushia whar all kids get a real chance at schooling. Schools are free, like here, and the government sees that every kid has clothes and victuals and a place to live while he’s going to school.

“Hush up, honey.” She turned to take up a squalling baby and fed it a little warmed tobacco juice.

As she raised herself once more, pushed her hair out of her eyes behind her ears, her face took on one of those queer looks.

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"Whar's that Rushia? Why doan we hev it thata way here?"

This Monday afternoon I found Katy frantic. "My baby's gona die! Oh, I'm a-feart my baby's gona die. The doctor jes' come, 'n he sed it got typhoid'n runin-off of th' bowels. It's from these stinks 'n flies, 'n my baby what's all I got sinkin lower 'n lower. My Gowd, what'm I gona do?"

The baby lay in a little home-made cradle on the porch. It was covered with sores which the flies tried to reach through the mosquito netting. At each feeble whimper Katy moaned, "Hush honey—thar now, honey", and waved 'away the flies.

By evening Katy's baby was dead.

Union?

A few evenings later we were sitting on Tom and Sally's front porch, Annie, Frank and I. Mary and Sam had come over with their brood, and a friendly but determined religious controversy was waging between them. Tom and Sally were Methodists, and Mary and Sam, Holynests and the argument seemed to be over the origin of Sin.

Tom had been a Georgia farmer, a "poor white", farming three acres. He and Sally and the little 'uns had worked from sun to sun in the cotton patches, trying to pay off the mortgage. Then the bol-weevil one year and a "banner cotton crop" the next had driven him off the land, and set him to wandering from one cotton mill to the next. And the funny thing was, it wasn't the bankers who took his land that Tom blamed, nor the system which made big crops a disaster, but "those dam niggers." Here he, an Anglo-Saxon White Man had to turn mill-hand while some of those niggers held on to their three acres.

Tom was studying mechanics in the evenings, after work, so as to be able, as he told me, "to learn my boys a trade 'n giv'em a chance. All th' young 'ns of us poor people, all they got to look forward to is going' into th' mill or on th' farm. I'm goin' to make it different for my boys."

Sam and Mary had no plans for their kids, nor did most of the mill hands to whom I talked when I asked, "Do you want your kids to work in the mills?" the answer was usually—"Naw," stating that the life was too hard and they'd like to see their kids get an education and make something of themselves. "But 'what else," they invariably added, "kin they be?"

Somehow the discussion of sin had led Tom to a denunciation of the last war.

"Yep, it was a rich man's war 'n a poor man's fight, sure enuf", Sam echoed.

"Wahl, Tom went on, "thar's another war comin'—between th' rich 'n poor. A rich man over in Itlanta sed that wus th' only war he feart. 'N it was acomin."

"Do you think he is right?"

"Ya—I reckon so."

"Do you want to see it? How'll it come out?"

"Wa-hl, I figger it this way. God's gona be on th' side of th' poor because it's us what supports his church. The rich may give th' money but it's us poor what goes 'n does His work."

Sally rocked approbation. "Ya—it's us poor'll win."

"Tom, has there ever been a union here?" All looked at one another, then Mary spoke up crisply. "I'll say thar war. Sam here was among th' fust to join 'n th' last to give in."

The story followed—one I had heard often on the hill,

since they were sure I wasn't spying for the company. During the war "the I. W. W." had come. A woman organizer who posted bills, made fiery speeches and pleased and frightened their souls by the evil things she said of the company. Everybody was for joining the union. The news spread to all the villages that someone had come to help them at last, and then around n'ne-thirty one hot morning all the spinners walked out and sat on the ground in front of the mill. The boss spinner ran out, demanding, "What're you doin' here? Why ain't ye workin'?" Nobody moved. "We ain't acom'n back till you raise th rate 5c a spool. Th' Bible says a workman's worthy of his hire." "Hell," says the boss spinner which is also in the Bible, "Wahl, I reckon you kin set here 'n I'll get me more hands to take your place." And he went back into the mill. So they sat for an hour, some arguing to go back, and some to go home. Weavers and carders peeped out of the mill windows at them. After another half-hour somebody started moving toward the mill. Then everybody got up and went inside.

Over here on Roe Hill they had 85 per cent joined up, and had held secret meetings with the organizer. Then—as they found out afterwards—a company tool got himself elected secretary and everything started going wrong. Right away, the workers took to quarreling among themselves. One night a bunch of rowdies came from another hill and threw rotten eggs and stones at the organizer and drove her out of town, and threatened her to ever come back. And that was the end of the union. Since then the company had the sheriff and spies to keep a watchout.

"There war two main troubles," Sam threw in, "One wus us not stickin together good enuf 'n th' other was *we hadn't no money to hold out!* Everybody owed the company store and we ran out of vittels. Next time it'll be different. We'll hev to git money ahead from somewhere."

"But the union's th' right thing fer us m'l peop'e, Frank, you sed you belonged to a union, how'd yours work?"

"Yes, sir, I belonged in Jersey, 'n it worked fine. Say, I'll tell you about it tomorrow night; when you come over to our place to tell Dot goodbye. It's too late to start tonight."

On Saturday night we all gathered in Mrs. Crenshaw's parlor, these four, Marg and her two young 'uns, and Mrs. Crenshaw's household. Even Katy had roused herself to come when she heard I was leaving the hill for a visit home.

I shall never forget those faces as Frank told of the struggles of the northern textile workers for a union, how they had suffered, been defeated but had final'y won out; what conditions were like before and what they were like nqw. Mrs. Crenshaw sitting as she did in church, with unnoticed tears slipping over her twitching mouth, Katy wide-eyed, pressing empty arms to her flat chest, Doris fired up but restless.

They listened without a word until the story was ended. Then questions began to pour in.

"*We cud do that too.*" Why doan somebody cum down 'n organize us?"

As Katy left she plucked me by the sleeve and whispered, "You'll send me a letter 'n doan mind if I doan answer because you know I kin read but not write. 'N cud you send me a book tellin about that thar country whar all kids kin go to school?"

The Gist of the Tariff Question

Leaps in the Dark

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

IF the world were run as a single economic unit or as a cooperative association of economic units, sound economics would require that each product be turned out where it could be produced to greatest advantage (which, in a workers' society would mean with the greatest economy of natural resources consistent with the greatest economy of toil and the best conditions of life and work.)

That is, each thing would be produced at the point where natural resources of material, power, climatic requirements, etc., were most suitable. The only exception would be that if cost of transportation were high, it might prove advisable to produce part of the supply at points nearer to the consumers, even though natural conditions for that production were not so favorable; also that if climatic conditions in the region of cheapest production were repugnant, it would be considered normal to produce at higher cost somewhere else in order to relieve people of the necessity of living in an undesirable region.

The foregoing statement indicates that the sheer economic ideal would be universal free trade. This would be the ultimate political and social ideal also; for tariffs obstruct communication and give rise to political strife, provincialism, and social antagonism.

Three Obstacles

At present, three things stand in the way of the realization of the ideal: (1) Different parts of the world are at different stages of economic development, which means that it is not possible to make adequate comparisons of human costs; the most up-to-date method of production will win out in the long run, but meanwhile it has to stand the competition of brutally exploitative methods: the textile mills of Massachusetts are up against the deadly competition of Chinese and Indian mills where labor is ground out in short order and thrown on the scrap heap; (2) The world is not yet operated as a single economic system under unitary control; so there is no way of evening out these inequalities of competition; (3) The economic system is an exploitative one, hence there is no serious effort made to overcome the oppressive conditions of interregional competition.

If universal free trade could be put into effect today, the workers in the more advanced industrial countries would have to face the unmitigated competition of Oriental labor on the starvation level until such time as the sheer superiority of the modern methods would drive out or bring up to-date the backward competitors. Progressive employers are no more anxious than are the workers to undergo a generation or two of such cut-throat struggle; hence we have laws restricting freedom of commerce (and freedom of migration).

There can, however, be no such thing as a soundly-scientific tariff, for the reason that (1) Tariffs are made by the pulling and hauling of rival selfish interests, and

not by the application of honest intelligence; (2) There is no way of measuring the requirements of a reasonable tariff. Some think they have found a formula when they say that the tariff on each article should be equal to the difference between the cost of production at home and the cost abroad. But there is no uniform cost of producing any article here or elsewhere; (3) There is no way of seeing to it that manufacturers protected by tariff take pains to keep their own costs of production down to a reasonable point. The theory is that the tariff will be taken off after the industry has grown up to the point of being able to compete on even terms with industries abroad; but this cannot be done, because there is no incentive for the protected industries to grow up, and because the industrial revolution is continually spreading to new lands and offering new competition on bitterly low levels.

Free Trade in Britain

When a nation feels undoubted economic superiority over other nations, so that it does not fear competition, it tends toward free trade. Great Britain was on a free-trade basis through the nineteenth century, and prospered, because she was so far ahead technically and had such a grip on the commerce and finance of the world that she needed no protection. As she loses this grip she tends toward protective tariff.

Other nations, as for instance France, misled by England's prosperity under free trade, supposed that free trade was a sound universal policy and experimented with it, but they did not see it through. They found that free trade was not a simple universal expedient, and that nations not at the economic forefront did not find it so advantageous.

As the United States leaps ahead industrially and financially, there is a tendency toward free trade. Andrew Carnegie said that American labor is the cheapest in the world, and as much as seventeen years ago, Judge Gary was quoted as saying that the U. S. Steel Corporation no longer needs a protective tariff.

Talk of general tariff reduction and approach toward free trade signifies an approach toward international capitalism. If ownership were diffused irrespective of national bounds, there would be no reason for capitalist interests to want tariffs for economic reasons. So long, however, as they depend on the arm of the state to protect their foreign interests, they will need tariffs for the sake of enabling each capitalist nation to develop a complete outfit of industries at home capable of enduring the strain of a great war, with commerce cut off.

What Gains from Tariffs?

There is no clear account of what American labor (or labor anywhere) actually gains by tariffs. Doubtless the workers in particular industries that would not exist here at all save for the tariff would be inconvenienced

MORONIC MAC DONALD

"Intelligence" Man Who Lacks Intelligence

ALL parties involved in the Real Silk situation—the Real Silk Hosiery Mills, the union and LABOR AGE—are waiting with interest for the report of the Tri-Church Commission. This commission has made a study of union conditions and relations in Philadelphia and the working of the E. M. B. A. company union at Real Silk.

After several days' effort on the part of the process server, the elusive A. R. MacDonald, labor spy, has been served with the papers in the suit of the Managing Editor of LABOR AGE against him for libel. MacDonald has proved such a dud for the company that they dared not have him around in Indianapolis, while the Church Commission was there. MacDonald wanted to come in and start something, but was politely told to keep hands off. He is the man employed by Real Silk to institute the notorious "yellow dog" contract, by which that company hoped to keep out unionism from its mill.

The spy's last letter, of a series of four concerning Budenz, has been laughed out of serious consideration in well-informed labor circles. He makes a great discovery, which he rushes to tell President Gustave Geiges, of the Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, in order to force Budenz's dismissal.

What is this discovery? That A. J. Cook, secretary of the British miners, attended the LABOR AGE

banquet a year ago! Now, A. J. Cook as never been in the United States. The man who spoke at our dinner was Arthur Cook, a British student at Brookwood. Everybody knew that—but the "intelligence" man MacDonald. So the spy writes:

"Arthur Cook, the celebrated A. J. Cook, renowned exponent of radicalism in England . . . the notorious Britisher, he who led the Communist army on its march to London, the direct Russian representative of the English Communist Party . . . A. J. Cook, Nice Companions!"

He is also duly excited because "Jim" Maurer openly advocated defiance of the courts. "Why?" he whines. Does he not know that every labor leader worthy of his salt takes that position, and that Vice-President Matthew Woll of the A. F. of L. was most definite in his statement on that subject at the last two conventions. We can tell MacDonald "Why!" Because the America of Jefferson, Phillips, Garrison and Lincoln demands such action today. But of American history the moronic one is undoubtedly as uninformed as he is on the Labor Movement. Let us express in advance our pity for the employer who allows such a stupid, petrified brain to lead him on any labor policy against the workers.

by its removal; and workers in industries largely dependent on the tariff would be discommoded too. That fact does not, however, offer any more warrant for continuing a tariff than for continuing to use out-of-date machinery. It is of significance that the United Textile Workers are fighting against the protective tariff in their industry. They do not come out for free trade, but they feel that, hiding behind the tariff wall, the manufacturers fail to modernize the industry, and thus delay the time when it will cease to be a parasitic industry as it always has been.

It might possibly have been better for the United States if it had never had a protective tariff of any sort. In that event, industrial development would have been more gradual, agriculture would have remained longer as the main occupation, and industries could have grown up only by the most extreme exercise of technical skill and managerial competence. These would at first have had to be imported from abroad. As it is, there is no way of telling which are normal and appropriate industries for the United States because the tariff protects "hot-house plants" that would not grow otherwise.

As for a labor policy in industry: (1) No group of workers can expect to retain a protective tariff merely because it seems to help them to keep their jobs. If people's jobs are to be protected it ought to be by some scheme of unemployment insurance or indemnity for dismissal. (2) The workers as a whole cannot expect to protect themselves permanently against world competition. Their products will have to compete with

others in the world market, and indications are that the foreign market will for many products come to be a prime consideration. (3) For the workers to lend their support to the protectionists is to make themselves the tools of capitalist interests in a game in which there is no way of telling just how the workers will benefit, if at all. (4) On the other hand, Labor can not afford to interest itself greatly in the free trade movement, for it is either an abstract ideal or a scheme of advanced business interests.

To Fool Us

In other words, the tariff is not a major issue for the workers. For generations it has been used to fool them, and they cannot entirely avoid being influenced by its campaigns. If they cannot afford to ignore the matter entirely, then they ought to center their propaganda on the proposition that they will not support any tariffs save when a guarantee is included that wages and conditions in the protected industries shall be according to the highest union standards. Even then, it is a question how far American workers ought to allow themselves to be put in the position of junior partners of American capitalists in their drive against all the other peoples of the world.

In general, no person has enough knowledge of tariff to talk or vote intelligently on the real merits of a tariff bill. Every tariff law is a leap in the dark, so far as the general interests of the workers and the consumers are concerned.

HERE AND THERE

Among American Workers

INJUNCTIONS against soft coal miners in Pennsylvania and subway workers in New York lead the labor news of the month: but one of these injunctions got a wallop this December, and we hope the other will get its bump next month.

In Indiana county, Pennsylvania, Judge Langham thought he could starve the striking employes of the Clearfield-Bituminous Coal Corp. at Rositer. So he issued a writ forbidding the United Mine Workers from distributing relief. But—the United Mine Workers has continued to furnish relief. And that's that. After all, even a judge can bite off more than he can chew.

The United Mine Workers is a home-builder, on a large scale, in the Pennsylvania fields. Twenty-five hundred families are living in barracks of pine lumber they hastily constructed since they were evicted from company houses. Eviction sheriffs are now knocking on the doors of another 2500 or 3000 families and more barracks' colonies must be erected. Collections to feed the hundred thousand strikers in Pennsylvania and Ohio are being taken by thousands of local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and some independent unions. Several carloads of clothing have been shipped in from Shenandoah, Scranton and other union fields.

AND now comes the National Association of Manufacturers into the fight against the American Federation of Labor. William Green, president of the A. F. of L., tells about it. The N. A. M., he charges, is supporting the Interboro Rapid Transit Co. in its move to enjoin the three million members of the A. F. of L. against attempting to unionize the subway and elevated employes in New York.

"What interest has the National Association of Manufacturers in the Interboro Rapid Transit Co. and in the maintenance of its company union?" asks Green.

THE real purpose of a company union is illustrated at Manchester, N. H., where the "workers' congress" has accepted—under protest—a 10 per cent reduction for 10,000 employes of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Co. Altogether 20,000 textile workers have been cut in the New England mills in the last few weeks. Most of the others are employes of the Pepperell Manufacturing Co. You've all seen the advertisements of Lady Pepperell. Remember, she's scabby. Union men buy their sheeting from the Naumkeag Mills, at Salem, Mass., which do not cut wages, and recognize the United Textile Workers. Incidentally, this union firm makes higher profits, at higher wages, than Pepperell.

The United Textile Workers has a couple of good organizers in these open shop towns. Wait for developments. Already the full fashioned hosiery workers at Ipswich, where wages were cut 10 per cent, have struck, and the union is leading the fight.

FIFTY-FIVE thousand members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen, employed 55 on 55 western railroads are awarded 30 cents a day more for passenger firemen; 35 cents more for all others, by the Federal Arbitration Board. That runs to about a hundred dollars a year more per man.

IN Colorado the strike of 10,000 miners against Rockefeller's Colorado Fuel & Iron Co. and lesser operators is going forward vigorously, despite the murder of six pickets before the Columbine mine. The men—led by the I. W. W.—demand the same wage paid to the members of the United Mine Workers in Wyoming. Rockefeller's "Plan" does not take the place of union liberty and union wages.

METROPOLITAN Life Insurance Co. loosened up this month to the tune of \$2 a week more, or \$100 a year, to each of 7,000 office workers in New York. This raise was no accident. It followed a vigorous campaign by the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union. The union told the story of the Metropolitan's \$12-a-week minimum wage in mass meetings, through the daily newspapers and it put it on the air over Station WEVD. Prominent women took up the campaign. President Haley Fiske of the Metropolitan cried Bolshevik in vain, and then decided to raise the workers' pay instead. But wages are still below the union minimum and recognition of the organization is still to be won. So the work must go on.

COMING to the needle trades unions we find the Amalgamated Clothing Workers has completed its fine six cooperative apartment houses in the Bronx for more than three hundred families. This project has been praised highly by the New York State Housing Board.

New York Capmakers have just won a notable victory. Their employers declared a lockout on November 14 and announced that the shops would be reopened when the men agreed to work 44 hours a week. They reckoned without the solidarity of the workers, however, and on December 5 the lockout ended with the manufacturers promising to abide by the agreement which expires July 1, 1929. This provides for the forty-hour week.

KICKING THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

Insurance Heads Figure Up Swag

PLACE: Hotel Astor, New York City. Time: December 8, 1927.

The twenty first annual convention of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents is in session. Up speaks Darwin P. Kingsley, President of the New York Life Insurance Company. What is on Darwin's mind? The Declaration of Independence. He doesn't like it. He says so quite emphatically.

That is a stimulating admission. It shows whether the mind of the business class is tending. Darwin is against "equal political power for all men." He would evidently put it only in the hands of the business class—and what he calls "science". It is in their hands that he sees all leadership to be found.

Now, the worker should look that statement over, once or twice. It will cause him to scratch his head—though Darwin thinks most decisively that that head has not been given the worker to use. It is a purely ornamental feature with the machine class, Mr. Kingsley avers. It can be twisted and turned by any "demagogue." Therefore, would he set up a Dictatorship of the Big Babbitariat.

No applause is recorded in the NEW YORK TIMES or the NEW YORK WORLD for these ringing declarations. But the applause can be imagined. Surely, the insurance presidents all considered themselves to be the real chosen leaders of the machine-people. When they look upon their profits, they have reason to feel complacent about their own greatness.

The poor dumb worker—whom Mr. Kingsley would disenfranchise and throw out of our citizenship—thrives but little off these companies. Like bank clerks, the insurance clerks are of those who toil much and little do they reap. The High Church conscience of Haley Fiske did get a serious jolt a little time back, as we have remarked, and the office workers in the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company did get a \$2 a week raise. It was the union which did that for them—the Bookkeepers, Stenographers and Accountants Union. Further, those workers are no longer compelled to eat the free feed handed out by the company, as of yore. That is something. But it does not even scratch the surface of the exploitation of the insurance office workers. Nor does it touch that other important problem—the exploitation of the workers who purchase insurance at rates which make for high profits and incredible executive salaries.

Yes, we agree with Mr. Kingsley: The Declaration of Independence and suffrage for all are dangerous things—for the insurance barons and other magnates. Thomas Jefferson ought to be abolished!

PUTTING IT CLEARLY

Shop Organizations Insufficient, Says Lauck

WE have been reading W. Jett Lauck's POLITICAL AND INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY, 1776-1927. We rather are taken by the book, even though we disagree with a number of its propositions.

Mr. Lauck has recently been employed by the Mitten interests in Philadelphia. His enthusiasm for "industrial democracy" as handed out by suddenly benign employers, therefore, must be analyzed with some degree of care. We find with pleasure that he has not feared to face out the fundamental issue upon which the words "industrial democracy" must stand or fall.

He puts this issue clearly on page 324 of his volume. He not only put it, but decides it in the only way that it can be honestly decided. Laying down the several essential bases on which shop organizations have a chance to function, he says quite emphatically:

"In the first place, it is obvious that a definite, independent organization of employees is an essential preliminary to cooperation and industrial democracy. The standard labor organization fully meets this need, and all systems of cooperation or industrial democracy should be based on or coordinated with labor organizations. Under these conditions, questions of discrimination, or of open and closed shop, would not arise. Cooperation being the end sought and cherished, and the union being the basis for the cooperation of employees, a one-hundred per cent trade union membership would be desired by management."

Whether it be desired by management or not, we can state quite confidently that an explosion lies at the end of every shop organization which seeks to serve as a substitute for real unionism. The change over to industrial unionism in the basic industries will see that series of explosions become historical realities. The company-unionized employers are fouling their own nest. They are dangling an empty pocketbook before their workers, and then jerking it back at the appropriate or inappropriate moment. They are talking "industrial democracy" and "self government" to their workers, and yet not giving them these rights. The result is disorder and chaos. Colorado will be repeated in a thousand cases, in time.

The one thing that has hampered this movement on a big scale up to the present has been the continued existence of the craft unions in the basic industries. As soon, however, as the American Labor Movement turns fully and wholeheartedly to the industrial union for these industries, the end of Company Unionism will be in sight.

Every company unionized employer who chooses to fight Real Unionism is in for the trouble of his life. Nothing in previous labor history in America will equal it. Mr. Lauck, as a student, sees this thing in the offing. Even though he handles it gingerly and in employer's language, he knows what it all signifies.

Following the Fight

With Comment Thereon

By THE MANAGING EDITOR

OUR AIM:

To Educate the Unorganized—To Stimulate the Organized—
To Unity, Militancy and Intelligent Action.

FOR 1928: THE MACHINIZED INDUSTRIES

They Are the Real Test of American Unionism

The problem of organizing workers in highly machinized industries the convention referred to the Council with the request that investigations be made to disclose conditions and possible methods. The Convention also directed that steps be taken to offset the company union development.—President William Green of the A. F. of L., in November FEDERATIONIST.

THESE two subjects, we submit, are closely akin. It is in the "machinized industries" that the company union has its deepest roots. The two considered as one, form the real test for American trade unionism for the year 1928.

When the Executive Council begins to dig into this subject, we believe, it will come upon certain basic conditions that require certain pretty definite answers.

For little favors, we should be duly grateful. The company unionized employers themselves have furnished the first tip on what is essential here. They have shop-organized their plants. Most certainly, they have sham-organized them. In some cases, they have departmentalized the shop "organization."

We have, then, the business ahead of us to shop organize our union groups. Further, to departmentalize them when necessary. Further — and there is the big item—to link them together by inter-shop organization—or industrial unionism.

That there are difficulties in the way of that program, it goes without saying. There is the financial problem, raised by the fact that international unions who will not gain members from a newly formed industrial union may not feel inclined to finance the campaign for such memberships. This and other like stumbling blocks are difficulties which MUST be overcome. Any labor man who thinks that 16 to 20 craft unions today can go in and organize the basic industries has another think coming.

When that is disposed of, there arises the question of safeguarding the labor market, so that a surplus cannot flow in as strikebreakers. If ever there was a hard nut to crack, here is one. Some

may say that it will require a miracle to change that stone wall obstacle. We happen to believe in miracles of that kind. It is not an insurmountable obstacle, in other words. If the semi-skilled in the machine industries can be indefinitely supplanted by strikebreakers, then the organization of all the workers might as well be forgotten once and for all. For the basic industries will roughly dictate labor policies to all the other trades in the course of time.

A third point is the matter of effective tactics. In general, education is necessary before a strike, and secret organization is the first medium for education. The organizer must be prepared to appeal to the workers' ideals as well as to their interests. These latter they generally understand in a crude way; in a world of mis-education, it is their ideals which they generally have not found. We must stand out for the America of Thomas Jefferson, Samuel Adams, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips and Abraham Lincoln as against the America of Andrew Mellon, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., Quackenbush of the I. R. T. and the rest of the present day Tories. We must show the workers their great goal and appeal to their desire for power and freedom. We must be cautious in our promises, but far-flung in our intelligent appeal to their manhood. An organizer today must have the faith of a fanatic and the subtlety of a diplomat.

There is more to the subject than that. But we submit that the Executive Council can do a fine and effective thing, if it begins with these three premises in the study it is making or is about to make:

1. Industrial Unionism is absolutely a necessity for success in the basic, machine industries.
2. Arrangements must be made to head off any possibility of a flood of surplus labor to take the places of the semi-skilled on strike.
3. New tactics—or a new application of old tactics—are indispensable to victory. The old catch-as-catch-can methods will not put us across the goal in this gigantic undertaking.

HOOF PRINTS OF JOHN THE BAPTIST

Blood of the Columbine Added to Blood of Ludlow?

THE cloven hoof of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., appears to be stamped in blood anew in the Colorado coal fields.

Frank Palmer of the Federated Press gives us an insight into the "mass of circumstantial evidence" that points directly to a Rockefeller frame-up in the recent killings at the Columbine.

The links in the evidence are something like this:

1. Miss Josephine Roche, member of the juvenile court staff of Denver under Judge Lindsey, inherited a large though not a majority interest in the Rocky Mountain Fuel Co. just as the strike began.

2. She called Merle Vincent, a progressive lawyer, to represent her interests. They forced the resignation of George Pearty, hard-boiled and blood-bathed general manager, and of Judge Jesse G. Northcutt (of Ludlow days) as counsel. They discharged Walter Belk, notorious head gunman. They ordered Ted Peart, son of George Peart and manager of the Columbine, to leave the mine gates open for strike meetings on the property. That was well understood.

3. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Co. is desirous of getting control of the Rocky Mountain Fuel Co., according to the ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS. There is a widespread rumor that President Wellborn, Mr. Rockefeller's faithful henchman, went to George Peart and George Peart went to his son Ted. Ted locked the gates and got in touch with the State's gunmen, under Pat Hamrack and Louis Scherf. He also got a friendly newspaper reporter on the scene. Everybody knew the massacre was to come off but the strikers. When the strikers appeared, they were shot down in their tracks. Six were killed and a score seriously injured. Four days later, Ted Peart "resigned".

Beneath this smoke there is apparently much fire. We hope that a thorough investigation will be made of these charges. Whether or not the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company is directly involved in the murders at the Columbine, the act bears all the marks of a Rockefeller trick. An eager pupil of that sleek "Baptist" hypocrite has left his red finger-prints in northern Colorado.

OUT OF THEIR OWN MOUTHS

Charles Schwab versus Industrial Conference Board

The test which now confronts the nation is prosperity—Calvin Coolidge, with the vision of the Colorado and Pittsburgh district miners before him.

LITTLE Calvin, joke playboy of the Western world, is only one of the oracles who are speaking all around us. Charles Schwab, he of the private chapel in his home and of the slimy spy system in his mills, has also broken the silence.

Charles finds our laboring forces to be the marvel of the world. He declares that they are receiving the highest wages in the history of the world. He even lays down a platform for them, in the way of demands. All of these he got off his chest at the meeting of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, on December 6 of the late year of Grace and Prosperity.

His platform of demands for the workers is so good we reprint it word for word:

REASONABLE WANTS OF LABOR

"What are these reasonable wants of employees, which they have a right to see satisfied as far as conditions of industry permit? I believe they include the payment of fair wages for efficient services; steady, uninterrupted employment; safeguarding of their lives and health, good physical working conditions; provision for them to lay up savings and to become partners in the business through stock ownership; and finally, some guarantee of financial independence in old age."

Charles speaks well. Before hailing him as a new leader of the working class, however, let us hasten to add that he thinks all these things have been accomplished. On the matter of wages, we find him to be evidently too roseate. An employers' research agency bids us to be cautious just when Charles is jubilating.

The National Industrial Conference Board is the creation of anti-union employers' association. It may suppress the facts about company unions, but it must come somewhere near right on wage estimates. At any rate, it will not publish lower rates than exist; it will be rather inclined in the other direction.

We refer Charles to the recent report of this organization on factory workers and their wages. Nine million men and women are engaged in factory labor. Their wages are low. Unemployment is frequent. Unionism is almost unknown among them.

The average wage of so-called unskilled factory workers is set at \$24.08 per week. This wage ranges for \$13.00 a week in southern cotton mills to \$28.49 a week in rubber factories. For the semi-skilled and skilled, lumped together, the average wage is quoted as \$31.33 per week. In southern cotton mills, it falls to the low average of \$18.70 per week. Over half of all the nine million worked over eight hours per day and nearly a fourth worked nine hours or more.

We will go no further. Schwab and N. I. C. B. can fight it out. As for us, we are of the very emphatic opinion: The time for revolt in the factory industries is overdue. Long overdue!

CONGRESS MUST ACT

WILL the gentlemen of the Congress behold the handwriting on the wall with sufficient clearness to make them act against the injunction and the "yellow dog" contract?

There are some signs that they do understand the danger that lurks in allowing the present state of affairs to continue. The courts have lost all control of themselves, and are foaming at the mouth at any mention of unionism. Poor old "Injunction Bill" Taft—who now adorns the chief judicial seat in the nation—is made to look like a piker by the Federal judiciary of this day and age. Unionism is practically forbidden existence, as Vice-President Matthew Woll of the American Federation of Labor just told the National Civic Federation. That body decided to "investigate" the subject—when the whole issue is as clear as the nose on a man's face.

Commenting upon the suggestion of the Court of Ap-

peals of New York that fewer injunctions be issued in labor disputes, the editor of the **BOILERMAKERS' AND IRON SHIP BUILDERS' JOURNAL** rightly says:

"If the injunction judge can supersede criminal law when labor is alleged to be involved, why not apply it to undisputed criminal cases? Why not enjoin burglars and hold-up men? Why should outlaws be given greater consideration than workers on strike to enforce better living conditions? When an outlaw is arrested he is assumed to be innocent until the State proves him guilty. He is given every aid to prove his innocence, and no judge dare ignore the outlaw's constitutional guarantees.

"When an attorney for an employer tells an injunction judge that a strike has violated his order not to do a thing that would be legal if no strike exists, the worker is ordered to appear before the court and convince his honor that he (the worker) should not be fined and jailed. There is no assumption of innocence, as in the case of the outlaw. The worker is considered guilty. It is up to him—not his accuser—to prove his innocence. There is no trial by jury or other constitutional guarantees. All this is done, the worker is told, because his case comes under equity."

"This treatment of strikers is indefensible. The class bias is becoming so apparent, because of organized labor's repeated protests, that enthusiasm is waning for the wholesale issuance of these writs. Organized labor will not be satisfied with the New York court's suggestion. Liberty is unsafe as long as courts set aside constitutional rights and act as lawmaker, judge and executioner. Unauthorized power, even when used with moderation, is as abhorrent as when unchecked. In either case the victim depends upon the mood of a judge, rather than upon constitutional guarantees.

"Labor insists that the injunction process revert to its original status—that it be only used to protect property and where the plaintiff has no other remedy at law."

To put it otherwise, Labor insists that the injunction in labor disputes be wiped out entirely. With equal vigor, we insist that that badge of involuntary servitude—the "yellow dog" contract—be abolished. Federal legislation toward those ends will go a long way toward curbing the blundering courts. It is that—and nothing less than that—that the workers of America demand today.

It is time that the America of Jefferson, Garrison, Phillips and Lincoln re-asserts itself. It is time that it be felt in the halls of Congress. If it is not felt, let us say this: The ruling classes are only preparing themselves for an ungodly hot time of it. The methods that a progressive upward movement takes always depends on the amount of freedom allowed it by the class in power. The Czar produced Bolshevism. The English ruling classes have been more pliant and things have moved forward more peacefully in Britain as a consequence. As to the road that our rulers will take, the next year will give a decided inkling. We advise them—with the voice of History—to be cautious in the use of their power.

SWEET LADY NICOTINE

WOULD you walk a mile for a Camel? Or do you take a delight in smoking Luckies, because it puts you in company with so many actors and actresses, who get so much per for telling you about it? Or does the name Chesterfield tickle your vanity as well as your throat and lungs?

We suppose that all the answers are "Yes", for cigarette smoking is now a national habit. Every step in that Camel mile, every coffin nail from a Lucky packet, every soothing fag from the Chesterfields are lined with gold for the cigarette magnates. With the money made, they invest in enterprises of much greater danger to the American workers than mere tobacco manufacturing establishments.

More than half a billion dollars has been coined in profits by the three companies making these three brands since 1914. The owners of these concerns are receiving annually more than 100 per cent on their original investment, according to Leland Olds, economic editor of the *Federated Press*. Mr. Olds tell us:

"American Tobacco Co. leads in the 13 year period with profits totaling \$216,762,000. American Tobacco was the original trust dissolved as a violation of the Sherman Anti-trust act. Its offspring, Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co., made profits totaling \$121,922,000 in the years 1914-26. J. R. Reynolds Tobacco Co. is the third with 13 year profits totaling \$190,064,000. Altogether these three companies turned over to the owning class an aggregate tribute of \$528,748,000 between 1914 and 1926."

The cash thus made out of our love for sweet Lady Nicotine has gone into big electrical enterprises for the throttling of the American people and into universities for the "education" of the American mind. It is with much interest, then, that we read in the December 12th issue of *BARRON'S*, financial journal, that American Tobacco has decided to concentrate altogether on "Lucky Strikes". They have broken all records recently in gains in sales. They are invading the British market and hope to change the British taste in cigarettes.

Now, granted that we "need" to dope ourselves with nicotine, is there any reason why we should submit to this huge tribute to the cigarette barons? Not only does Lady Nicotine weaken our health, but She exploits the men and women who work in her factories. The tobacco workers are underpaid and overworked. They have been denied all freedom.

The least we can do about it is lend our energies to the democratization of the tobacco industry. The first move in that direction is ORGANIZATION. Suppose that we resolve on New Year's Day, with a resolve that will not be broken, to devote one-half the money we spend annually on tobacco to the emancipation of the tobacco workers. How can we do that? Send such money to LABOR AGE for forwarding to the Tobacco Workers or to the secretary of the American Federation of Labor at Washington. Resolve on more than that: to spread that idea in our local unions. Who will begin on this needed undertaking in 1928?

In Other Lands

DARKENED NEW YEAR

Workers Must Awaken to War Dangers

GOVERNMENT by gunmen may appear to be desirable at first. If it promises profits, banking and business interests will welcome it. They are used to the employment of gunmen extensively in their little domestic maraudings against the workers, anyway.

After all the laudation of Mussolini by the Big Business groups of the world—and of America in particular—it is now discovered that he is largely a dud. Fortified with foreign financial support though he was, he has not been able to make Italy self-supporting. He has speeded up industry and beaten down wages. Yet, from many corners of the country has come the cry: "Duce, give us bread!" It is armed terrorism alone that keeps him firmly in the saddle.

The way out of this impasse is an attractive one for the Dictator. It is over a roadway of blood, to the mastery of Southern Europe. He has foretold that somewhere from 1930 to 1935 the struggle will break forth. He is preparing the way in Albania. Lending that feeble country more money than it can repay, he has met the failure of the second installment by paying the money from Italy's treasury and thus strengthening his hold on the Albanian people. The thrust through that territory is a thrust at Jugoslavia. Therein lie complications that may lead to a new war in the Balkans.

A political expert, who is on the spot in the Balkans, wrote thus in the *WESTMINSTER GAZETTE* (London) in November:

"Once again a critical situation has arisen in the Balkans, which, if the Great Powers follow their customary policy of drift, may easily, and in the opinion of responsible authorities probably will, lead within a few years to a conflagration."

Jugoslavia, standing for "the Balkans for the Balkan peoples" is backed by France, as we have noted before. Mussolini is supported by Britain and is now virtually allied with Hungary. So once more new groupings of selfish nationalistic interests threaten the peace of the world, in which the workers will be the victims.

As yet, the organized working peoples are totally unready to meet the coming conflict. Through the International Federation of Trade Unions, they have declared against all war. But the resolve is still far from any strong or serious consummation. Until the workers decide to oppose war aggressively, and not to fight under any circumstances, there will be small possibility of any long-lasting peace.

The New Year, therefore, starts out with a darkened prospect for the war-ridden European masses. In the coming catastrophe, our own bankers and statesmen will have no little blame.

COOK'S COXIE'S ARMY

Three hundred Welsh miners marching on London attracted renewed attention to the terrible conditions existing in the British coal fields. While coal barons can maintain their handsome palaces and wait for a change in the tide, miners and their families starve. Baldwin has merely met the storm, with his usual stupidity, by striving to cut down the amount of unemployment payments.

The new Unemployment Insurance Bill is designed to ignore the unemployment crisis, still acute throughout Britain. It is concerned only with relieving the business groups of the burden of paying insurance. But even at that goal it has failed, by seeking to discover grounds for compromise. Many Big Business Tories are openly dissatisfied with the bill. Between the Labor Party fire and the Big Business fire, it has had a bad time of it. It had to pass before Christmas, however, in order to provide for unemployment insurance after January first.

Meanwhile, the textile industry joins in the general collapse. The Cotton Price Ring—known as the Cotton Yarn Association—went to pieces entirely in November. Confronted with that serious difficulty, the Government has maintained its usual policy of "Do Nothing"—although textiles are the very heart of northern British industry. It is the same sort of policy which led Baldwin to refuse to

see the members of "Cook's Coxie's Army"—as the papers dubbed the marching miners. It is the policy which dictated his refusal, also, to speak on the coal situation—even though it is sliding down to calamity and chaos. All in all, it seems time from all angles—that Baldwin sing his swan song and retire.

"YELLOW" HAVELOCK WILSON

For years Havelock Wilson, president of the British Seamen's Union, has been playing traitor to the Labor Movement. It was he who blocked the adoption of world-wide laws for the protection of sailors, initiated by the American Seaman's Union. It is he who, in crisis after crisis, has caused his men to desert the otherwise united ranks of the workers.

Now we find him in a typical "yellow" role. Out of the General Strike the employers have succeeded in getting certain groups of miners to abandon their Miners' Federation. These men have formed themselves into "yellow" unions. Under the pretense of being dissatisfied with the political phases of British Labor unionism, they formed "industrial" or "non-political" unions. Havelock Wilson, as usual, is found supporting them. He has gotten his union to vote a loan of \$50,000 to this attempt at disrupting the Miner's Federation.

The General Council of the Trades Union Congress has not been slow to act, upon the Miner's complaint. They have notified the Seamen's Unions that they must withdraw the loan and change their attitude within a limited time, or they will be expelled from the Trades Union Congress. It is our hope that it will only be a short time until the British seamen wake up to the "yellowness" of their so-called leader, Wilson, and pitch him out of the chieftainship of their organization.

OUR LATIN-AMERICAN BROTHERS

American Imperialism is more and more encroaching upon Latin America. It may surprise some of our readers to know that the recent adventures in Nicaragua are merely the latest of a long series of attempts to control that country and all Central America. It has been a tussle between Britain and America, during which the British city of Greytown was bombarded by an American gunboat (1854) and an American adventurer Walker was supported in his "claims" on the presidency of Nicaragua. Finally, the U. S. A. has won out diplomatically and through marines and gunboats intends to reduce Nicaragua to the dependent status of Haiti and Cuba.

Such action by the imperialists calls for counter-action by Labor. Although still poorly equipped to meet the challenge in a big way, the Pan-American Federation of Labor should prove the agency through which such counter-action can be undertaken. When it meets in Havana this coming year, it will find our Cuban labor-brethren persecuted and even slaughtered by the reactionary local government. The shadow of Sugar hangs over Cuba. American financial interests dictate the Cuban policies. Trade unionists, who dare revolt, are spirited away, drowned by the police or openly assassinated.

Such will be the spectacle all through Central and South America when American Imperialism gets well under way. Local dictators have already hampered the growth of a virile Latin-American movement. The larger Southern American countries make a pitiable showing. In Chile there was formerly a trade union center, with about 40,000 affiliated members. It was torn, however, by internal and external forces, and has finally given way to an organization along purely trade union lines. Bolivia, which has seen the most cruel persecutions of the workers, has only 5,000 trade unionists. The center has been in existence since 1918, but the bitter opposition of the employers has injured its development.

It is to be hoped that the Pan-American Federation will be able, with all speed, to strengthen these and other centers and to make them effective groups for the winning of workers' rights.

GERMAN WORKERS RESTIVE

While the wage increase won by the German "brown" or lignite miners was not satisfactory to all of them, it marks the beginning of a new industrial movement in Deutschland. This we predicted sometime ago. Now the steel workers have made their demands, and agreement seems impossible. A lockout will probably be the answer sometime early in January.

The lignite miners' strike might have assumed serious proportions from the German manufacturers' viewpoint, had it been allowed to continue. Lignite is the basis for the big new industry of Germany, the chemical industry. The giant works in Leuna with its new production, the

A DISAPPOINTING CHRISTMAS



Philippines Herald, Manila

The Filipinos hoped for independence. All they got was Colonel Henry L. Stimson—and indefinite postponement.

liquidation of coal, and its 40,000 workers was in danger of being tied up altogether. Also, in great areas in Germany the generation of electric power depends upon a steady supply of lignite. The whole situation was, therefore, fraught with danger, and the German manufacturers heaved a sigh of relief at its conclusion.

The miners' success—even though it was almost certain, because of the strategic character of their "brown" coal—will encourage the other worker-groups to make demands. The steel workers are but one such example. All in all, the German workers have come out of their long industrial slumber and are now much more restive than they have been since the Revolution.

UNDER THE SURFACE IN SPAIN

What is actually occurring below the surface of the dictatorship in Spain is a bit hard to say. Censorship and military repression make it difficult to get at the facts. Nevertheless, the gesture recently made at some sort of an advisory assembly by Primo de Rivera indicates that all is not so well as it might seem. Much of the trouble no doubt lies among the ruling groups themselves, some of whom are not pleased with the present dispensation.

The workers have expressed themselves to a degree, also, in the recent 24-hour general strike in Biscays. Although this was Communist "engineered," it was undoubtedly the expression of what the workers feel but dare not act. Another evidence is the strike of 6,000 miners in Austria against the proposed lengthening of the workday. The dictator claims that Spanish coal cannot compete with cheap British coal and that an 8-hour day must, accordingly, take the place of the 7-hour day.

While the strike in Austria will probably be lost, it is another protest against the way that things are going in Spain.



"Say It With Books"



HOW THE SOVIETS WORK

Brailsford's Glimpse of New Russia

AS a sort of summary of the fruits of the Russian Revolution after ten years, the Vanguard Press is issuing 13 books on various phases of the Russian question. One of the earliest of these is from the facile pen of H. N. Brailsford, among the ablest of British journalists.

Mr. Brailsford is sympathetic to the Soviet regime for Russia, but is a non-Communist. He therefore brings a critical view to the study which is decidedly helpful. His work is the result of two visits to Russia—one in 1920 and one in 1926.

In his *HOW THE SOVIETS WORK*, we are informed very frankly that low wages exist in Russia, even in comparison to British or German wages. "Politics" such as is known in Western democracies is also non-existent. "Elections" are the voting of a list prepared under the direction of one party and that, of course, the Communist party. Other political groups can only function underground, if at all.

However, he finds that the mass of the people are more than satisfied with the new state of affairs. There is a reason for such satisfaction, also, deep-embedded. "It

might puzzle an English worker to see these Russians proud and contented on the low wages which they bring to cramped homes. He might not think that even the courtesy which they now enjoy from managers and overseers was an adequate compensation. That the English worker has never felt a Cossack's whip on his back in the courtyard of the mill, nor has the English worker ever known what it means to hunger after knowledge and beauty and find a policeman in his path." That does explain much; also that the factory and villages—economic units—are the cells of the government, rather than the municipal conception of the West.

That explains much, but not all. There is the dictatorship by the Communist Party. There is imprisonment for protestants outside the party's ranks. There is expulsion for protestants inside the party. The fate of Trotsky and Zinoviev has been much more rapidly meted out to lesser party members. Brailsford glosses over this use of force—partly because he is not dealing with this subject and partly because he thinks the fruits of the revolution counterbalance these defects.

L. F. B.

ON JUVENILE UNEMPLOYMENT

"Erwerbslose Grosstadtjugend: Ein Dusseldorfer Erziehungsversuch an erwerbslosen Jugendlichen," Duesseldorf, 1926, 96pp.

"In Kampf gegen die Arbeitslosigkeit der Jugend: Die Massnahmen des Arbeitsamtes zur Beschaeftigung der erwerbslosen Jugendlichen," 40 pp.

Published by the Municipal Labor Exchange of Duesseldorf. Both publications are copiously illustrated.

THE municipal authorities of Duesseldorf, Germany, the center of the metal-working industries of the Rhine-Westfalian district, have made a substantial contribution to the study of the problem of unemployment. The municipal labor exchange offers a solution of the most distressing and, from the social viewpoint, most dangerous type of the unemployed: apprentices and young workers from 16 to 21 years of age. It has recently published two illuminating pamphlets and circulated them throughout Germany to show that the Duesseldorf plan can be applied with equal success in other large cities.

This plan is an outgrowth of a happy beginning made in 1913 by an imaginative principal of a public school.

He used to take his classes to a wide field on the outskirts of the city, used as a public dump. Ashes, slag, rags, coke and tin cans were carefully sorted by the boys. The material was utilized on the spot or eventually sold, the proceeds being entirely devoted to the enterprise. Little by little a city eyesore and a health menace became a blossoming garden. Folk tales fired the children's imaginations and led them to build an open stage in the new School Garden. In course of time the modest stadium was replaced by an imposing amphitheatre, seating two thousand, one of the most famous of Germany's municipally managed theatres.

In 1923, during the Ruhr crisis, a similar School Garden project was undertaken on a wider scale for the benefit of hundreds of unemployed adolescents. By the end of 1923, 925 juvenile and 130 adult unemployed were in the Labor Training Garden established by the municipal Labor Exchange. Most of the adult workers were unemployed professionals, acting as group leaders of the boys. The especially gifted boys who, in the course of the emergency landscaping work, have displayed a particular inclination to this or that vocation have been closely watched and sorted from the rest. As soon as a demand for certain

kind of juvenile labor has been registered at the Labor Exchange, the jobs were given to the minors who distinguished themselves in the Training Garden. A great many boys have been placed as apprentices in the repair and work shops controlled by one or another of the city government's departments. The boys that have shown a lively interest in gardening have been assigned to jobs in the country as a rule proved highly successful farm hands.

Gradually, with the recess in the mass unemployment, the importance of the emergency landscaping work, financed from funds which had hitherto been distributed to idling boys in the form of relief doles, decreased. For the past two years the bulk of the unemployed juveniles, entitled to a dole, have been occupied, under the guidance

of skilled foremen, in training workshops installed and managed by the municipal Labor Exchange. In midsummer 1926 some 2,500 boys and girls were required to attend special vocational training courses in crafts and office work.

The core of the juvenile unemployment scourge, as the Duesseldorf municipal authorities see it, resolves itself into an educational problem. The training in agriculture, building trades, and indoor crafts is much superior to the dull jobs provided by the usual public work enterprises, ditch digging, road building, etc. Besides, the Duesseldorf plan materially helps to eliminate from the city's future unskilled casual labor, the most hopeless element among the unemployed.

HERMAN FRANK, PH.D.

SONGS THE COAL MUCKER SINGS

IT is doubtful if one who can describe the Mollie Maguires as a "band of terrorists" without reaching a little deeper into the heart of that stormy period knows the anthracite very well. Of course newspaper men live professionally on the surface of things. Their comments are largely the opinions of flies crawling on the outside of butchershop windows commenting on the displays of beef and chops. The professional smirk and reportorial tear duly sprinkles pages of comment which introduce and wave goodbye to the songs that the coal miners have once roared lustily to the accompaniment of "schnaps" and beer.

Such is George Korson's Songs and Ballads of the Anthracite Coal Miner (Grafton Press). While it represents a painfully honest effort to gather all available material within the compactness of a small volume, its comments excite little curiosity in the outside reader, while to the miner they would certainly be unbearable. It is true the anthracite landscape is ugly, torn, drab—but not dull. Few miners ever leave their culm banks and breakers forever. Many have rebelled against the dark stillness of mines and grinding noise of breakers. They left for distant cities where they tempted fortune and found bitterness. They come back to their patch and town, and return to the breaker with a joy-song within them, and forget the universe in the pint of magic liquor.

One gets none of the rich music of a miner's grim life out of these scooped-up ballads. Well as they represent the heart-throbs of a sentimental generation that is fast slipping away in the dark, one misses the beat of the heart, the catch at the throat, the belly full of hot indignation of which these songs were the mere smoke. But here they are the whole fire. The songs about John Mitchell were deep and chesty. The work-songs-complaints of back-aches and long hours—can hardly be heard wrenching themselves loose from the chains of comment that

bind them fast to the printed page for the dissection of experts.

Korson misses the risque ballads which fill anthracite saloons with unholy revelry. Miners always love to retail coarse stories. Tame stories with a preachy tone to it they thrust aside as unworthy. They want life in the raw—just as they live it. Mountains, falling rocks, whining breakers, tearing whistles, dynamite blasts, shrieks that die unuttered in the stern breast—these things warm themselves into the enchantments of ballads which are still flung from the roomy throats of boozy miners over whom fate holds suspended the rock that will some day flatten them to the thickness of a dime.

But Korson, while he dirties the breakers and hurls mud at the sky to make us feel the anthracite, misses it by so much just because his own mud isn't coal mud, and the pound of the breaker is not the pound of his own heart. We may admire the scientific thoroughness of a reporter's achievement in amassing these ballads; but how can one who never was more than a spectator give us the soul that belongs to them? With all its superficial completeness, the job still waits to be done.

ED. FALKOWSKI

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